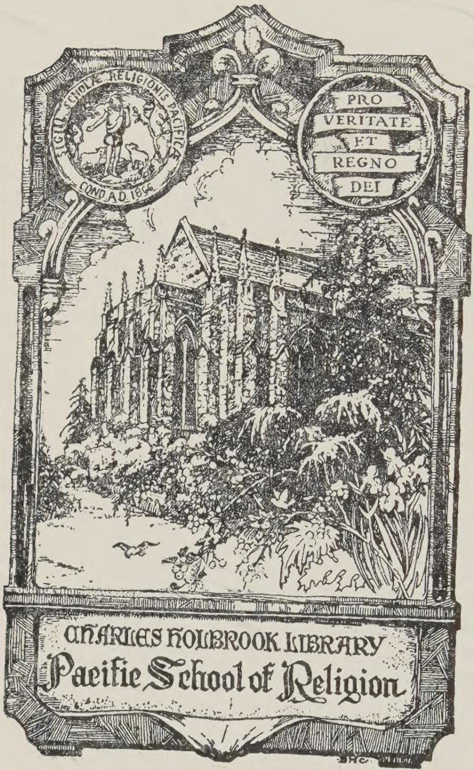
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EDITORIAL COMMENT

THE PROVIDENTISSIMUS DEUS

On November 18, 1943, fifty years will have elapsed since Leo XIII published his memorable Encyclical on Sacred Scripture, commonly known as the *Providentissimus Deus.* The value of this authoritative exposition of the attitude of the Catholic Church towards the study of Holy Writ is not confined to the beneficial effects which it produced in its own day; it will continue to be of paramount importance for generations to come. Its influence upon scriptural studies in the Catholic Church can only be compared to the impulse given to social consciousness by Leo XIII's pronouncements upon Labor. Hence, The Catholic Biblical Association passed a resolution at its last meeting that the golden jubilee of the publication of this epoch-making document be suitably commemorated. In this manifestation of loyalty to Catholic principles of interpretation and in this tribute to a great and farseeing Pontiff, the Quarterly cannot play a negligible part. We shall, therefore, devote the major portion of our April issue to articles dealing with various aspects of the *Providentissimus Deus.*

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CORNER

Owing to the war archaeological research has suffered a severe setback. Consequently the summaries of discoveries in this field, which Father Cerny used to give us, are rendered difficult. We have decided, therefore, to enlarge the scope of this department and to include contributions on anthropology, philology, geography, and similar topics. In future the heading of this department will vary in accordance with the character of the article.

THE NEEDS AND POLICY OF THE QUARTERLY

Our repeated appeals for articles have met with a response so gratifying that we are now in a position to enlarge the Quarterly slightly, beginning with the present issue. It is evident, however, that we cannot rest upon our lees. The publication of each number makes a heavy inroad upon our reserve, which must be replenished if we wish to avoid exhaustion and extinction.

To survive, we require about thirty or forty articles each year. To maintain a high standard, more than these should be forthcoming. It seems unnecessary to emphasize the value and importance of the Quarterly for biblical studies in America. This is patent to all the members of the Association. Surely, we ought to be able to find a sufficient number among them to secure the life and prosperity of our review. The enthusiasm manifested in the past prompts us to think that our plea for continued support will not fall on deaf ears.

We prefer articles of about 3000-5000 words. But we are not averse to longer contributions of real merit. Shorter notices, too, throwing new light on difficult passages, are very desirable. If these were sufficiently numerous, we could create a special department for them.

We cannot guarantee immediate publication upon the receipt of an article. The date of publication depends upon other factors beside the quality of the article. We shall endeavor to avoid all unnecessary and irritating delays.

The article submitted need not be a literary masterpiece, but the style should possess the qualities desirable in the expository type of literature. Technical expressions not intelligible to the ordinary priest should be avoided if possible. If they must be used, a few words of explanation should be added. This holds true, especially, of such foreign phrases as "Sitz im Leben." Biblical texts should be cited in the original languages only if this is necessary or useful. Quotations from French, German, or other foreign authors should be translated into English. If necessary, the quotations in the original languages may be added in the footnotes.

The number of topics upon which prospective contributors might write is vast. We must content ourselves with indicating some of the more salient ones. Articles pertaining to the biblical theology of the Old and New Testaments would be especially valuable and interesting. Exegetical discussions of individual texts or of longer passages will also be appreciated. Moreover, there are certain periods of Old and of New Testament history which could be re-investigated with profit. The subjects usually treated in general and special introduction bristle with problems which need further elucidation. The literary beauty of the Bible, also, offers a fruitful field for research. Articles on the asceticism and mysticism of the Scriptures are appropriate, but we cannot accept mere pious homilies and meditations. Textual criticism, if it is not a pure exercise in ingenuity but a real contribution to the restoration of the text, will find a warm welcome.

Finally, discriminating studies of great exegetes of our Catholic past would certainly be acceptable.

We should be delinquent in our duty if we were to exclude those who conduct research in the subsidiary sciences. Even the ordinary priest cannot be blind to the fact that archaeology and anthropology frequently have an important bearing on the historical character of the Bible narrative and that they enable us to understand its customs and background. Since a sound knowledge of the biblical languages is necessary for the full understanding of the Bible, we cannot leave the cultivation of these languages to the infidel and the agnostic. Comparative religion may seem unattractive, but it should not be the exclusive hunting preserve of the opponents of supernatural revelation.

The Catholic Church needs scholars in all these branches of learning, and it would appear to be the duty of our Association to encourage their efforts. The Quarterly, therefore, is willing to print articles on these subjects provided that they bear a relation to the Bible.

No article, no matter what its nature may be, should be a mere platitudinous repetition of matter readily accessible in the standard text-books. It should manifest a certain creative originality, even though what it offers is not altogether new.

The great majority of our members have never contributed anything to the Quarterly. We say this with a feeling of genuine regret, not in the spirit of captious criticism. Many of them, doubtless, have valid excuses upon which we need not dilate here. But we suspect that excessive modesty is the cause in not a few instances. We hope that they will soon come out of their retirement to aid us in the attainment of the high purpose for which this review was founded. We need the co-operation of each member; we pray that this co-operation may not be withheld. We appeal particularly to the younger members to begin their apostolate as writers as soon as possible.

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SPIRIT AND LIFE

The President's Address, delivered by the Very Reverend Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., S.T.D., Lect.Gen.S.S., at the closing session of the annual meeting of The Catholic Biblical Association, Cleveland, September 2.

The present heartening interest of our clergy and laity in all that pertains to God's written Word creates an unequalled, nay unique, condition in the eventful and colorful history of the Holy Bible. Our Catholic Biblical Association has every reason to be proud of this initial success, but it also has the duty of insuring the permanence of this holy and wholesome movement. There is always the danger lest the rapid flux in the appreciation of values generally, the none too stable condition of trends and movements in our educational field particularly, and last of all the dread of the ephemeral and superficial which have unfortunately characterized American scholarship in the past, bring all this fine enthusiasm and devotion to an early collapse. "Tene quod habes" (Apoc. 3:11) should be our first slogan. And the second: "In opera mandatorum tuorum veterasce" (Ecclus. 11:21). This paper is a modest but sincere plea for a better appreciation of the high character of the "Opus Biblicum"; for its deeper penetration into our work and life; for its wider and steadier diffusion among the rank and file of God's people.

At the very dawn of Scholasticism's busy heyday, when all Theology was still folded within the covers of the "Sacra Pagina," when this mighty Tower of David, standing in the center of the arena, gave shelter to the learned and diffuse Sentences, Summas and Commentaries, as Solomon would put it, "mille clypei pendent ex ea, omnis armatura fortium" (Cant. 4:40), it was then that Alexander of Hales wrote down the following significant definition: "Doctrina sacra dicitur divina seu theologica, quia a Deo, de Deo, et ductiva ad Deum"[1] Embracing by implication the entire body theologic, this definition sets forth specifically the origin, comprehension, and scope of the Scriptura Sacra. Hence my division of the present theme.

Doctrina a Deo

"Spiritu Sancto inspirati, locuti sunt sancti Dei homines" (2 Pet. 11:21). I often wonder if our students, after ploughing through the tract "De Inspiratione," the hazy mass of the problems of Higher Criticism, the numerous abstruse questions of biblical hermeneutics and exegesis—if they appreciate the above words in the spirit in which our venerable first Pontiff wrote them? Frequently, I have heard the remark by theologians and young priests: "I used to love Sacred Scripture, but somehow I have lost this interest in my Scripture classes." Of course, the veteran Scripture professor will suspect in such words, no matter how immaculate the lips that speak them, a modicum of the proverbial classroom *Odium,* if not downright *Otium;* still there often is a kernel of truth in the complaint. Certainly, "ab initio autem non fuit sic" (Mt. 19:8). A different spirit prevailed when Scripture study was in its infancy and youth. A sacrosanct reverence, an unrestrained fervor, an undisguised devotion prevails in the early homilies and glossaries, catenae and commentaries on the "Scriptura divinitus inspirata." Every line bespeaks a childlike faith; every paragraph, the motto "Sancta sancte tractanda." Those mighty tomes are proof of a genuine consecration to the doctrine which is from God.

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[1] *Op. Omnia, I Tract. Introd.*, Q. I. cap. II.

This was the motive that spurred the Adamantine Doctor to spend days and nights over time-worn parchments; the motive that grimly forced Jerome's temper between cantankerous rabbis and fallow manuscripts; the motive that made the Seraphic Doctor copy the Sacred Volume four times on bended knees. This was the spirit of St. Francis of Assisi who reverently picked up scraps of printed paper lest the Holy Name or the inspired word be desecrated; of Thomas a Kempis who places the Sacred Volume on a table opposite the Table of the Lord in the sanctuary; of our ancient Liturgy which orders a solemn procession with lighted candles and burning incense to escort the deacon at the solemn Mass as he intones the Holy Gospel before the standing congregation.

Every word of the Bible "proceeds from the mouth of God" (Mt. 4:4), the Master tells us. "Totum a Deo," the Angel of the Schools avers, "totum ab homine." And Leo XIII concludes: "This is the soul of Theology" (*Prov. Deus*). The lesson is that even in questions of a purely historical, mechanical, critical, or statistical type, we keep before us those lofty standards of old, ever conscious that the Scripture class is the "Schola sancta" par excellence.

It is not the new impetus given to historical, literary, and critical research, although largely patronized outside the Church, that should be held accountable for the subsequent lowering of our high traditional standards. Rather was it the sad, iniquitous attempt of heresy, which tore the ship of faith away from its ancient moorings, which ruthlessly wrung the Holy Bible from the consecrated hands of Mother Church, to which it had been entrusted by its Divine Author. This was desecration, which made Church authorities wary, and the faithful bewildered.

"The father of lies" had started the nefarious distortion of the Written Word on the Mount of Temptation (Mt. 4:6). No wonder, the venerable Council of Trent placed the Holy Bible on the Altar of God, where it belongs, when its contents became the subject of irreverent debate in the market place. The real danger lay in the new attitude towards the Word of God, which was essentially subjective and which dragged in its trail a novel "fiducia" which is neither biblical nor rational. The former attitude had also been subjective, and still is, but it looked steadfastly to time-honored objective norms, to the stern warning of Paul: "Omnia . . . secundum ordinem fiant" (1 Cor. 14:40). The result was that among the faithful the earlier childlike reverence was dimmed to a feeling of fearful awe, and that in numerous instances God's Holy Book gradually found its place alongside Aesop's Fables; while at the present time higher critics are busily engaged searching for additional colors to enhance the latest edition of the "Regenbogenbibel." May the beautiful faith of the so-called Dark Ages be restored to hearts and homes in this new age of fluorescent light!

The Reformation blundered grievously by proclaiming Sacred Scripture a sacrament, as if sacraments could exist where the Author of the Sacraments has withdrawn; where the Tabernacle, which is the heart and source of all sacramental power, has been violently removed. The Word of God does not work "ex opere operato." It does, however, take on the nature of a sacramental,[2] "ex opere operantis" in those souls, namely, who "with a right and good heart, having heard the word, hold it fast, and bear fruit in patience" (Lk. 8:15). That is its spiritual function in the Mystical Body of Christ, to the end of days. For, in the same manner as the Holy Spirit is the soul of this Body;

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[2] Selbst: See N. Peters, *Unsere Bibel*, p. 304.

as divine grace diffuses itself from the heart, the Holy Eucharist, through the seven arteries of the sacramental system; as the prayer of the Church supplies the function of inspiration; as the bond of Charity unites all the members, even so does this same body receive its daily spiritual bread from "every word that proceeds from the mouth of God" (Mt. 4:4).

In this connection let me briefly refer to an interesting controversy which has recently engaged the attention of Catholic theologians, especially in Germany. There are those who stress the need of Theology as a message (Verkündigungstheologie) in addition to Theology as a formal science (Forschungstheologie). Father Thaddeus Soiron, O.F.M., goes a step further and, in the wake of the Seraphic Doctor, claims that more emphasis should be placed upon what he terms "Theologia Salutaris" (Heilstheologie). 1 Cor. 2:7-16 is his classical text. He chooses the name "Scriptura sacramentalis" because Sacred Scripture is inspired, permeated and consecrated by the Holy Spirit. Positively and directly it gives forth God's wisdom to the willing ear, and through grace produces spiritual fruit in the soul. As Christ does not separate Himself from the inspired word which He spoke, neither does He separate Himself from that word as it enters the soul. In this sense Jesus says: "Ego sum via, veritas, et vita" (Jn. 14:6). And in this sense Theology, Father Soiron says, truly becomes man's religion and life in fulness.[3]

Needless to say, this line of argument steers clear of the pitfalls of the Reformers, and reveals the genuinely Catholic approach as suggested notably by St. Bonaventure. To him the "auctoritas Ecclesiae" was the supreme law. He accorded to scientific investigation its rightful place in the sacred science which however, he defines significantly as: "Veritas ut credibilis notitia pia." We acquire it, he wants us to remember, "non per humanam investigationem, sed per divinam revelationem!" Understanding is necessary, he insists, but wisdom is more excellent, and wisdom is love: hence it behooves the theologian to study "propter amorem ejus cui assentit." And this same wisdom engenders both, understanding and goodness, "principaliter tamen, ut boni fiamus." St. Bonaventure's "theologia salutaris" exercises the whole man, his intellect, his will, his heart, his emotions, to the end that he be wholly Christ's.[4] The Reformers avoided the Seraphic Doctor, for there is no road to his mystical heights except by the bridgehead built upon the Rock which is Peter.

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[3] "Die Theologie als Heilstheologie" in *Theologische Gegenwartsfragen*, Ed. Schlund, pp. 9-35.

Frequently we hear the complaint that our Theology appears boring, because too "intellectualistic." The observation comes to us from converts, from those confirmed in the faith, from those advanced in the way of God who find argument abhorrent. Young David at first shed the heavy armour of Saul to fight Goliath with sling and pebble. Later he asked for the sword of his slain adversary, wrapped up behind the ephod. "There is none like that," he said, "give it to me" (1 Kgs. 2:9). Biblical study has fared similarly. That heavy armour was forged by the Church Militant in the day of strife and struggle. It cannot be discarded. But it is the prudent householder who brings forth from his storeroom "things new and old" (Mt. 14:52). And even in this modern day there is no argument so powerful, effective and convincing as the word of Sacred Scripture; old indeed, but carried by charismatic power.

DOCTRINA DE DEO

Sacred Scripture resembles a water-course which slowly but irresistibly made its way among the habitations of God's children. It grew from age to age, in proportion as Divine Dispensation broadened the range of Revelation, ever feeding it, as it were, "with the blessings of heaven above, with the blessing of the deep that lieth beneath" (Gen. 49:25). At the fulness of time this "river of God" (Ps. 64:10) was filled to the brim. Thenceforward, it flowed majestically within its borders.

The Patristic Age drew from it eagerly and fully. The great Augustine and John of Damascus, with visions of a new and larger world, dredged the stream and constructed new locks to make it navigable. The Lombard dug deep into the river bed and made the current flow broadly and steadily within protecting banks. Later the Sentences yielded to the Summa and exchanged the "Studium Sacrae Paginae" for the new "Theologia."

Steadily the waters coursed by and washed away crumbling ramparts of Pagan Philosophy and the pretentious structures that rose after them until, strong and rich, they reached the portals of Trent. This sacred assembly faced a new world, new thoughts, new dangers. New demands were made on the Deposit of Faith; new water-ways were devised, new irrigation canals were spread over a wide area. Controversy, Apologetics, the Science of Moral Theology followed their own appointed ways, and in like manner did all the sacred sciences as they now stand in our curriculum.

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[4] St. Bonaventure develops this doctrine in his *Breviloquim and Sent.* 3, d. 35. See Soiron, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.

Meanwhile, the mighty river of God rolled on. Its surging, refreshing waters surround us even today. Sacred Scripture is not like the other sacred sciences which rise and fall with the changing world, each one serving certain needs, each one thriving and flourishing within limited periods of time. Oftentimes obscured, forgotten, neglected, this genuine "doctrina a Deo" ever feeds the entire range of all "doctrina de Dei."

There is a growing demand in these days for a theological synthesis. Our diversified curriculum provides exact knowledge, but does it provide unified knowledge? Does the product of our theological schools have a clear, comprehensive picture of what he has learned, and will he be able to impart it with clarity and conviction as the perfect "homo dei, ad omne opus bonum instructus"? (2 Tim. 3:17).

Trained in all the arts and sciences of the Egyptians like Moses of old, is he able to speak the word of the Lord like Moses? Well-groomed in the classics, philosophy, and science, he has studied, for example, the origin and nature of man, in Cosmology, Psychology, Anthropology, Apologetics, Dogma, Exegesis, and Higher Criticism, while there still linger in his memory faint pictures of the Ape and the Cave man of the text he used in the public high school. And now, as he is called upon categorically to state his views, or to instruct simple people in a simple way, can he give a better answer than the one he finds in the oldest educational book of the world: "And God said: 'Let us make man to our image and likeness'" (Gen. 1:26)? Sacred Scripture had the first word, and in all likelihood Scripture will have the last word. The lesson is: a synthesis, a mental unity, a "verbum sanum" is needed; not for scientific analysis or philosophical speculation, but for salvation. And I believe that for this "unum necessarium" we shall have to turn ultimately to God's inspired word.

There have been many voices recommending a year or two of "theologia practica," at the end of our theological course. Its purpose would be to assemble all that has been learned in the various departments, to make it palpable, understandable, synthetic, and thus to break the spiritual bread to the little ones of Christ (Lam. 4:4). Meanwhile we shall do well to integrate all our studies with the oldest text-book of theology.

There is no argument as to the need of a thorough and comprehensive training in Exegesis, Introduction, and the subsidiary sciences. Sometimes I feel, however, that we are putting too much emphasis on problems of textual and literary criticism and other propaedeutical subjects. To understand what is written is of greater moment than to know when or how it was written. The knowledge of the biblical languages is a positive aid and has, in a sense, the same bearing on Exegesis as Metaphysics has on Dogmatic Theology. St. Jerome was right. If it pleased the Holy Spirit to clothe the divine revelation in the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek tongues, it should be our first concern to learn these tongues, or at least to appreciate the dogmatic implications of the Text. Introductory questions have a transient import. What really matters is the Sacred Text in its patristic and ecclesiastical interpretation. For that is "spirit and life."

The study of dogma affords manifold opportunities for a profitable use of Sacred Scripture. Every dogmatist should be a Scripture student. Such was the spirit and method of the giant pioneers in his profession. The text of the venerable Vulgate may suffice him, but should not satisfy him. Classical dogmatic texts should be studied with exactness. The pensum for every tract should include memorizing a selection of the choicest texts. Students may forget thundering anathemas; they will not forget the word of God. But unless they are trained to enrich doctrine with abundant scriptural quotations, they may some day discover that of all the beautiful texts on the glorious mysteries "De Gratia" there remains but the solitary "Sine me nihil potestis facere"; that the Primacy is reduced to the three words "Tu es Petrus"; that all of "De Deo Trino" is condensed in the Form of Baptism. That is not living dogma: it is a skeleton without flesh and blood, without a soul.

The same is true of other departments: Moral, Ascetical, Pastoral Theology; and above all Homiletics. The Tract "De Virtutibus" calls for a rich scriptural background. To let a student go through the seminary without enriching his memory with the entire Canticle on Charity (1 Cor. 13) is a serious sin of omission. The tract on the Sacraments should be embedded in the Gospel story whence it was taken. Some one has said that if Aristotle should hear of the treatment accorded to his hylomorphic theory of Matter and Form by William of Auxerre and others, he would turn in his grave. That statement is slightly temerarious, but we should not fail to recall that the Divine Founder of the Sacraments instituted these means of grace as acts of His loving kindness. It was His intention, as it is the intention of Mother Church, that they be treated in that same spirit by the sacred minister. "Gratis accepistis, gratis date" (Mt. 10:8), which means to administer them with gratitude, love, devotion.

Almost every age complains of an unwarranted departure of our Catechists and Preachers from the inspired word of God. St. Paul has the answer: "Scientia inflat, charitas vero aedificat" (1 Cor. 8:1). And charity is another word for Scripture. True, doctrine must be set forth in simple, correct, and unambiguous language; but Scripture must add the three qualities of light, strength, and warmth. Educational Psychology and all other devices are valuable aids; but the towering figures that march through the Old Testament and the New, the inimitable Parables of the Master, the pungent dicta of St. Paul—these anchor the youthful thoughts and aspirations of the soul and keep faith and virtue safe at their moorings in trials and old age.

There is only one way in which our promoters for Better Preaching may succeed, and that is to restore the Scriptures to the pulpit; to make our Preachers emulate Apollo, "mighty in the Scriptures" (Acts 18:24). Must not all human eloquence vanish before the words of the great Preacher of whom they said: "Never has man spoken as this man"? (Jn. 7:46). And should not every speaker set his standard on that most beautiful prayer of the Master: "I praise Thee, Father of heaven and earth, that Thou didst hide these things from the wise and prudent, and didst reveal them to little ones"? (Mt. 11:25).

There are special subjects which every future priest should learn to master. Our Sunday Gospels and Epistles are foremost. What used to be the daily bread, the constant light of the entire week for our forefathers, must now often yield its place to long harangues on collections and parish events, or to a brief and shallow talk from some up-to-date "Sermon Book."

The Epistle, too, is God's word. Where, for instance, is the young priest who dares to explain the excellingly beautiful lessons "De Libro Sapientiae" on the feasts of the Blessed Mother? He much rather courts the temptation of exploiting the accommodated sense of Scripture, most likely because it is so commodious. "Ex ore fatui reprobabitur parabola" (Ecclus. 20:32). "Posuerunt me custodem in vineis" (Cant. 1:5), a young preacher complacently opened his oration on the Blessed Virgin, and was much dismayed when the old pastor showed him the second part of the verse: "Vineam meam non custodivi." Another tyro, on the feast of St. Joseph, elaborated eloquently on Gen. 49:22: "Joseph is a growing son, a growing son and comely to behold: the daughters run to and fro upon the wall." He had all the damsels of the neighborhood tip-toeing on the wall to watch comely, modest Joseph, until he was prudently advised that the "daughters" were none other than the creeping tendrils of the vine.

DOCTRINA AD DEUM

St. Gregory the Great had in mind this third point when he condensed the ultimate scope and purpose of the Scriptures in his classic saying: "De illa civitate unde peregrinamur literae." The Holy Bible is a letter from our true home, and every one of the 73 books bears the mark of that home above the clouds. Every page speaks its "Sursum Corda," sometimes with a thundering threat, sometimes in a gentle whisper, sometimes again through a mere sign, symbol, or event. Strange to say, once the gates of Eden have closed on their hinges, we witness marching armies, murder, bloodshed, and crime, and we wonder if this is the Book that leads to God. But in the end a golden line, drawn all across the page, shows us the Hand of the Ancient of Days. "As pilgrims and strangers" (1 Pet. 2:11), our first Pontiff bids us to wend our way, "to that Jerusalem," St. Paul subjoins, "which is above" (Gal. 4:26). In spite of its numerous aberrations, to the School of Alexandria is due a debt of gratitude from Antioch and all Bible students, because on every page of Scripture its teachers set on high the "coelestis vitae forma."

That is why the Holy Bible must always be the classical book of prayer, of meditation and of sanctification, first and foremost to the priest, and to the Christian people as well. St. Benedict calls it the "rectissima norma vitae humanae." St. Bernard says: "Qui amat scripturas, non amat saeculi vitia." The masters of the spiritual life have fashioned their ascetical and mystical writings after this pattern which they saw on the Mount, and the Founders of Religious Orders copied their rules from Holy Writ, so much that St. Francis simply writes: "Regula et Vita Fratrum Minorum haec est, scilicet, observare Sanctum Jesu Christi Evangelium."

Spirituality may be found anywhere in this world, and any pious and approved book may be read with profit, especially if it is written by one of the Church's Sancti or Beati. But it is hardly edifying to see the latest gracefully bound brochure of "Sister Amalia of the Holy Spirit" assigned to the foremost place among the "Ascetica" in a priest's library, while the lone and lonesome copy of the Holy Bible is squeezed away among dusty Tanquerays and worn-out Sabettis on the lowest shelf, unless it be hidden altogether by the latest issues of "Look" and "Peep" and what not.

"Me dereliquerunt fontem aquae vitae," old Jeremias would grumble, "et foderunt sibi cisternas, cisternas dissipatas, quae continere non valent aquas" (2:13). "Lord, show us the Father," Philip timidly said to the Master, "and it is enough for us." "Have I been so long a time with you," the Lord answered reprovingly, "and you have not known me?" (Jn. 14:8-9). "Ignoratio Scripturae," St. Jerome, interposes, "est ignoratio Christi."

The Seminary is the place for instilling a taste, a love, a holy enthusiasm for the Holy Bible into the hearts and minds of our candidates. Their daily routine, the sanctuary, the refectory, the cell afford countless opportunities. The words of Sacred Scripture will remain and operate in their souls, "until Christ be formed in them" (Gal. 4:19). They will bring them joy and comfort in their advancing years, "dulciora super mel et favum" (Ps. 18:11). It is well that the Liturgical Movement has entered our seminaries. It has spiritual advantages all its own; it brings our candidates closer to the Holy Sacrifice; but not the least advantage is that it makes the student read and understand the Scriptures from the first line to the last as the Church understands them, for she is Scripture's "optima interpres."

Sacred Scripture is the living book which has shared the trials and vicissitudes of the living Church. It has been obscured, hidden away, scorned, trodden under foot, its pages torn to shreds, its words distorted, and yet it has not forfeited its youth, its virility, vitality, fecundity. Having enriched all the sciences, sacred and profane, this "theologia salutaris" remains the field where the choicest fruits continue to ripen in abundance. On its wide area the noonday sun never sets, and the reapers "shall come with joyfulness, carrying their sheaves" (Ps. 125:6).

Its language never stales, for it is the language of God, who knows the heart of man, and speaks to the heart of man, "not in the persuasive words of wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of prayer" (1 Cor. 2:4). Let us hope that this "tuba spiritalis," as St. Chrysostom calls it (*Sermo* 57), will bring a special message to the new era now dawning. With ancient walls destroyed and old barriers broken down, Catholicism has a free range once again. May the Bride of Christ go forward, in one hand the Cross, and in the other the Book of God, which is also the Book of Man, the Book of eternal Peace.

INFLUENCES ON ST. JEROME'S TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Much has been written on the subject of St. Jerome's version of the Old Testament; and yet, in view of our own effort to improve upon the current Old Testament in English, his work takes on renewed interest for us. The principles of our undertaking lead us back to the Vulgate on two accounts. The first is the fact that the English version which we are revising, that is, Bishop Challoner's edition of the Douay, is itself based on the Latin text.[1] The general norm of our criticism of Challoner's version will be its fidelity in giving the meaning of the Vulgate. But further, we are permitted to look more closely into the Latin version itself, and that from two points of view. We may follow that edition of the Vulgate which brings us closest to the *vetus et vulgata editio;* and then we are expected to examine into the accuracy with which this renders the sense of the Hebrew text which it presupposes.[2] The application of these principles leads not only to a new interest in the work of Jerome, but also to a re-examination of his methods in producing this translation.

It might be worth while to state here again that the revision of the Old Testament in English, as was the case with our revision of the New Testament, is not a matter of bringing Challoner's idiom up to that of our own times; nor is it merely an effort to give better expression to the thought of the Vulgate. It is rather that through the Vulgate we are, very much after the manner of Jerome himself, striving to reach and then to express, in the language of today, the original divine message. Nothing less than this will satisfy the request made of us by the Bishops; nothing less than this is worthy of a version which we shall offer under the name of Sacred Scripture.

To reach this objective through the principles which have been adopted for our undertaking, it is of some importance that we understand the mind of St. Jerome and his methods of interpretation. For the purpose of illustrating his directive norms as a translator, and merely for this purpose, we shall gather here from his commentaries on the Minor Prophets some indications of his attitude towards the Hebrew text, and then some evidences, from his own admission, of other influences that bore upon his translation.[3]

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[1] Cf. *C.B.Q.* 2 (1940) 215 ff.
[2] Cf. *C.B.Q.* 2 (1940) 308 ff.

1. THE HEBREW TEXT

It is well known that Jerome's version of the Old Testament was taken from the Hebrew text, and also that he entertained high regard for that text, which was to him the *veritas Hebraica*. This attachment was such that it apparently prevented him from ever doubting the integrity of the Hebrew text. He must have seen more than the one copy, since he acknowledges contact with several rabbis. And yet not once in his commentaries on the Minor Prophets does he hesitate over the genuineness or the correctness of the reading he had before him. Further, he never enters into the textual criticism of his copy.[4] It is generally recognized that the text he used was almost identical with that which we read today. Some differences have been noted, but these seldom have to do with the consonants, and even when they do, the matter is not as a rule of any moment. On the other hand, we can readily see why at times he should read the same consonants but with different vowels, since there was still variation in the pronunciation held as traditional in different rabbinical schools.

He gives us further evidence of his confidence in the Hebrew text in the fact that he never intentionally changed anything in it.[5] This holds not only for its lower criticism, but also for those types of criticism which we now term "literary" and "historical." He often takes occasion to reject the *deliramenta* of rabbinical interpretation, but not once does he raise the question of authenticity or suggest the readjustment of the text he was using.

The first practical import of this attitude for his version was that it set up a degree of resistance to all the other influences which might be felt in his work. He still retained high regard for the common Greek version, which he generally refers to as the "vulgate." This is clear from a number of instances. He acknowledged its place in Christian usage, as the term "vulgate" testifies. On several occasions he openly expressed his respect for its message.[6] In his commentaries he gives the Latin version of the Septuagint together with his own translation of the Hebrew, and offers an explanation of the former, without questioning the value of its message, however much its reading might differ from that of the Hebrew. And yet his estimate of the original was far above the value he placed on its Greek version. When the two texts evidently differed, as they very often did, he was not slow in declaring his choice for the reading of the Hebrew.[7]

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[3] While the scope and the sources of this study are limited, there is some advantage in taking Jerome's work on the Minor Prophets as a basis. Bardenhewer (*Gesch. d. Altkirch. Lit.*, III, 621 ff) assigns the beginning of these commentaries to the year 391, and holds they were finished before 406. Cf. also Jerome's introduction to *liber tertius* on Amos (before Am. 6:2). Thus they will reflect his mind during the entire period in which he was translating the Old Testament.

[4] Only once in his commentaries on the Minor Prophets he gives us a variant reading of the Hebrew. Cf. on Os. 8:6.

[5] "Quamquam mihi omnino conscius non sim mutasse me quidpiam de Hebraica veritate." MPL 28, 557 f.

And what is more, he was not disturbed in his devotion to the Hebrew, although often obliged to confess that it presented its own difficulties. More than once we hear him exclaim "obscurus locus et attento lectoris sensu indigens." When commenting on Os. 10:11 he observes: "Locus iste, immo omnia quae.... sequuntur, magnis obscuritatibus involuta sunt."[8] An indirect confession of these difficulties may be found in his failure to tell us how he arrived at his version in many passages where the meaning is far from patent. Still, he not only adhered to the Hebrew text, but he did so in spite of all the versions with which he was acquainted. At times he shows some feeling in his attitude, as when pointing out the differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint in Os. 13:3 he adds: "Si quis autem contentiosus et nolens recipere Hebraicam veritatem...."

In very few cases does he admit having departed from the reading of the Hebrew, and yet he did so. An example comes to our attention in Hab. 3:4 where he reads *in manibus* with the Septuagint against the Hebrew and all the other Greek versions. He gives no reason for his doing so in this case. Though many other instances of this might be discovered by comparing his version with the Hebrew, the point we wish to make is that he very seldom acknowledges abandoning the Hebrew text.

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[6] Cf. *Praef. in Ecclen.* MPL 23, 1011.

[7] An interesting example of this is his retention of *oculi ejus* in Zach. 2:8 (which Procksch holds a scribal correction) against the *oculi mei* of the Septuagint. Cf. also on Os. 9:12 and 14:3 (though in this last case the Septuagint has the support of Syr. and gives a better sense.)

[8] Cf. also on Mich. 1:10 f.

The dominant source, then, of Jerome's version may be accepted as the *veritas Hebraica.* That was the solid foundation upon which he built. And we are at once impressed by the earnestness with which he went about his interpretation of that text. He weighed carefully the sense of each term. Thus in commenting on *in plaustris* (Am. 1:3) he adds a description of the instrument to show that his version is exact.[9] He is fully aware of the various significations of many Hebrew terms, and he tries to give them their exact sense in each context.[10] In Mal. 2:3 he points out the force of *testamentum,* observing that the word "in plerisque Scripturarum locis non voluntatem defunctorum sonare, sed pactum viventium." He also explains (on Am. 4:13) that the one Hebrew term means both "wind" and spirit." Such explanations are extremely numerous in his commentaries, and should be taken as witnesses to his sincere ambition of giving the exact meaning of the original.

It does not detract from his sincerity to find that at times he appears somewhat uncertain as to the rendering of an expression in Latin. Rather it confirms the honesty of his effort. In Am. 4:12 he wrote *postquam* in his version, but admitted in the commentary that *postea* (as in Aquila) is possible. In Mich. 7:5 he adopted *vastitas* for his version, but in the commentary observed that the term means rather *obsidio* or *custodia.* In Ag. 1:11 his version reads *siccitas,* but he says: "licet melius in *urentem ventum transferri possit.*"

He wished, as is evident, to be faithful to the Hebrew text and both accurate and clear in turning it into Latin. In carrying the thought of the original into Latin he was hardly ever servile, though he was for the most part literal. He admitted that even the order of the words in the Hebrew text might contain some hidden meaning. But his training in rhetoric had left its mark upon him, and he could not be pedestrian. He varies between these two attractions, now being inclined to a close following of the Hebrew, now to a rather free translation. Thus in Os. 7:13 his *vastabuntur* gives the sense and not the words of the original;

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[9] Cf. also on Os. 5:8,10,12; 1:2; Mich. 4:9.

[10] Cf. on Am. 1:11; Zach. 8:17; Mal. 1:6. In this last case he remarks: "Sed nos pro linguae Latinae proprietate, *honorem* posuimus."

in Os. 8:8 his *vas immundum* is an interpretation, all the Greek versions having *inutile.* He explains his *speciosa deserti* (Joel 1:19f): "intelligamus aut plana camporum, aut platarum florentia, aut virentia herbis loca, quae pascua praebuere jumentis."

In this connection we might add a remark with reference to his variation of policy in the matter of translating proper names. In his commentary he always gives the import of proper names, and this practice may have led to his translating some of them in his version when the sense appeared improved by it. His inconsistency in this regard is the more noticeable when his version is compared with the Septuagint. In Os: 4:15 he reads *Bethaven* against all the Greek versions; in Os. 5:8 he reads *Gabaa* and *Rama* against the Septuagint; but in Os. 5:13 he translates *yārēb* while the Septuagint retains it as a proper name.

We can appreciate the magnitude of the task Jerome set for himself, and hence we are not surprised when we find him falling into inaccuracy and even error. The weaknesses of his version have been only too well recognized; but not enough attention has been given the fact that his honesty prevented him from covering them up. We take notice here of some rather patent cases of failure to give the correct sense of the Hebrew. In his work there are not many instances of mistakes such as his rendering *nûgê* (Soph. 3:18) as *nugas* with the remark, "ut nosse possimus linguam Hebraicam omnium linguarum esse matricem." His *surge* in Zach. 2:7 is weak, and his *nives* in Zach. 10:1 is wrong; but in both cases he makes the weakness evident in his commentary. In criticising the Septuagint's version in Zach. 10:1 he remarks, "et nescio quid volentes LXX *phantasias* interpretati sunt." In Hab. 3:5 he translates *resheph* as *diabolus* and interprets it as the proper name of a leading devil; the Greek versions have *volucris* or *volatile.*

When Jerome is guilty of such lapses there is little difficulty in seeing the error, and there is, often enough, an explanation at hand. Still, while granting his frailty, we have much to be grateful for in the work that he has left us. His version can be acknowledged as the best of the ancient versions of the Scriptures. But more, his earnestness and zeal in looking for the true sense of the original message provides us an example whose value is beyond estimate.

2. THE GREEK VERSIONS

St. Jerome gives us several indications of the Greek versions he made use of, and frequently reveals the value he attached to them. In his preface to Ecclesiastes he says:[11]

> Hoc breviter admonens, quod nullius auctoritatem secutus sum; sed de Hebraeo transferens, magis me Septuaginta interpretes consuetudine coaptavi: in his dumtaxat quae non multum ab Hebraeis discrepabant. Interdum Aquilae quoque et Symmachi et Theodotionis recordatus sum, ut nec .... fonte veritatis omisso, opinionum rivulos consectarer.

He also calls our attention to the other Greek versions known as *quinta, sexta* and *septima.*[12] It is obvious, however, from his references to these anonymous versions that he did not call upon them too frequently. Some six or seven times he mentions *quinta,* once or twice *sexta,* and never *septima* by name. In Hab. 1:5 he speaks of "two anonymous versions"; but these are probably *quinta* and *sexta.*

After what has been said of his regard for the textual soundness of the Hebrew we need hardly call attention to the fact that all these Greek versions served merely as aids to his interpretation. It is evidently in this capacity that they make their appearance in his commentaries.[13] Our present purpose is to gather from his own admissions some idea of the extent to which these versions influenced the translation he has left us.

a. The Septuagint

There is no doubt left in our minds, after reading St. Jerome's commentaries, that he preferred the Hebrew text to the Septuagint. From our own knowledge of these texts we can sympathize with his views. On the one hand he saw the Scriptures in their original dress, and in a text that, as far as his evidence reached, was strictly uniform. On the other he had to do with a version, and one that varied considerably in all its current editions and recensions. We can recall that it is he who tells us of the several recensions of the Septuagint known in his time.[14] He is not infrequently obliged to observe "si tamen LXX est. . . ." when commenting on the reading of the Septuagint. The comparison, therefore, was for him between a certain and an uncertain text.

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[11] MPL 23, 1011.

[12] In *De Vir. Ill.*, 54, after mentioning Aquila, a proselyte from Pontus, and Theodotion and Symmachus, both Ebionites, he adds: "Praeterea quintam et sextam et septimam editionem, quas etiam nos de ejus (Origen's) bibliotheca habemus ..." (MPL 23, 665.)

Cf. also on Hab. 2:9: "Reperi, exceptis quinque editionibus, i.e., LXX, Aq., Sym., Theo. et quinta, in duodecim prophetis et duas alias editiones ..."

[13] He apologizes now and then for his show of erudition. "Quae molesta erit neglegentibus, studiosis grata ... " (on Am. 4:13). "Haec scio molesta esse lectori ... " (on Soph. 3:18).

How keenly aware he was of the unreliable character of the Septuagint we can see at once from his criticism of it in his commentaries. We can here attempt only a classification and illustration of his remarks.

1. The first thing he would notice is the differences in reading between the two texts. These were both numerous and serious.[15] Of his attitude in this connection two things are worth observing. In the first place, he very often undertakes an explanation of the divergence; though with equal frequency he seems to take the matter for granted. And secondly, what is more to our purpose, he always charges the Septuagint with having departed from the original. This is important as manifesting his general disposition towards this particular influence upon his interpretation.

2. He is careful to point out the passages that were found in the Septuagint but not in the Hebrew.[16] In many such instances he can also establish that the passages are wanting likewise in the other Greek versions. He does not give us, as a rule, his opinion of their authenticity; but even though he goes on to

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[14] *Praef. in Par.*: Si Septuaginta interpretum pura, et ut ab eis in Graecum versa est, editio permaneret, superflue me .... impelleres, ut Hebraea volumina Latino sermone transferem. .... Alexandria et Aegyptus suis Hesychium laudat auctorem: Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam, Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediae inter has provinciae Palestinos codices legunt; quos ab Origine elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt; totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat. (MPL 28, 1323.)

[15] Cf. on Mich. 2:9: "Interpretatio LXX (si tamen LXX est ...) tantum discordat in praesenti loco ab Hebraica veritate, ut nec capita possimus ex aequo ponere, nec eorum simul sententias explicare."

On Mich. 2:11 f: "Et in hoc capite multum LXX interpretes ab Hebraico discrepant."

On Am. 5:8 f: "Multum in hoc loco ab Hebraica veritate Vulgata (LXX) discordat."

Cf. also on Mal. 2:9.

[16] On Mal. 1:1 he notes an interpolation in the LXX from Ag. 2:16. He usually marks such additions with an obelus.

expound them, we may well doubt that he considered them part of the revealed message.

3. Some of the peculiarities of the Septuagint Jerome can explain as corruptions in the transmission of the Greek text. In Mich. 6:3 he shows that the original *σχίνοις* became *σχοῖνοις*. In Mal. 3:9 he attributes the *annus impletus est* of the Septuagint to a change of *ἔθνος* into *ἔτος*. In Os. 13:4 he calls attention to an interpolation that was not in the original Greek text. Further, he has numerous opportunities of noting variants in the Septuagint codices.

4. Very frequently he can accuse the Septuagint of faulty translations and inaccurate interpretations. In Zach. 8:10 he corrects the tenses of the Greek text (though he himself often errs in this regard). He notes that they give z^{e}*bā'ôth* now as *omnipotens* now as *virtutum;* that they always take the proper name "Philistines" to mean "foreigners." In Zach. 5:6 he observes that the *οἴφι* of the Septuagint is merely a transliteration of *'êphā*. Again, in Zach. 2:4 they read *stabat,* when the term means obviously *egrediebatur.* Where he reads *horrores* in Os. 13:1, they have *justificationes;* and Jerome adds: "nescio quid volentes." Of their version of Joel 2:8 he complains: "Quod nequaquam mihi videtur expositionis ordini convenire." In Am. 1:1 he suspects their term *Accarim* came from *nôqādîm,* where they took resh for daleth, but he cannot excuse them from overlooking the nun. Remarking on their reading of *domum Jacob* in Am. 7:16, he adds: "nomen pro altero nomine, et non rem intelligentes." Where he reads in Abd. 20 *In Bosphoro,* they have *in Ephratha,* and Jerome says curtly, "nescio cur!" In Jon. 3:4 he comments on their *adhuc tres dies:* "Et satis miror cur ita translatum sit cum in Hebraico nec litterarum, nec syllabarum, nec accentuum, nec verbi sit ulla communitas."

5. In a great number of these instances he can indicate that the error, always credited to the Septuagint, is due to the misreading or the confusion of Hebrew letters. It never seems to have occurred to him that the Hebrew text itself might have suffered in this way in the course of its transmission. The interchange of such letters as waw and yod, or daleth and resh, is often at the bottom of these errors.[17] But he discovers the mis-

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[17] On Zach. 5:6 where his *oculus eorum* is opposed to the *iniquitas* of the LXX, he points out that it is due to their having read waw instead of yod, and he adds: "hic error in editione Vulgate (LXX) frequenter inolevit, ut

reading of still other letters, and their transposition.[18] An occasional transliteration is also brought to light, as when in Am. 3:14 they read ἱερεῖς for *'āres.* Sometimes in dealing with lapses of this character, which are but a few of a large variety of textual mistakes, he betrays a degree of impatience.[19]

Nevertheless, his own familiarity with the Septuagint, and his respect for it, made it inevitable that his version reflect no inconsiderable amount of its influence. To some extent this may be due to his inability to improve upon their interpretation. He acceded to their views often in matters of doctrine and of the Messianic import of a text. But there is a sufficiently large number of cases in which neither of these motives will explain his leaning on the Septuagint. These come to our attention mainly when he admits following the Septuagint rather than the other Greek versions. In Mich. 6:7 he reads *hircorum pinguium* with the Septuagint, although this is evidently not the sense of the Hebrew. In Os. 11:8 he reads *protegam* with them against Symmachus and Theodotion, though the sense is clearly not good. In Am. 4:6 he reads *stuporem dentium* with the Septuagint against Aquila and Symmachus, and gives "propter simplicitatem verbi" as his reason. In Soph. 2:14 he has *corvus* with them against all the other Greek versions, though for the same term in Ag. 1:11 he disagrees with the Septuagint.

Much more of this dependency of his version on the current Greek text will appear from a brief comparison of the two texts. But here a few remarks will serve our purpose. In none of these instances is there question of his taking the reading of the Septuagint in preference to that of his Hebrew text. This limits definitely the influence of the Greek text to the field of interpretation. But even in that field, its influence was not without restriction. At least, in great degree, Jerome's recognition of its weaknesses put him on guard against too liberal an attitude

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quia vau et jod litterae eadem forma, sed mensura diversae sunt, altera legatur pro altera."

[18] In Soph. 3:9 LXX read בדרה for ברדה; in Os. 9:6 *Μαχμας* for מחמד; in Zach. 12:10 רקדו for דקרו.

[19] In Os. 12:11 he corrects their reading of שָׂרִים for the better שְׁוָרִים and explains: "verbi similitudine et ambiguitate decepti."

Cf. also Joel 1:15 where LXX read שׁוד for שׁדי; Am. 7:1 גג for גזי; Mich. 7:11 where they interpreted מָצוֹר as *de Tyro;* Soph. 2:5 where they read גר for גוי; Mich. 6:10f עמי for עמרי; etc.

towards it. While, therefore, we cannot say that when he did follow it he was always acting wisely, a prudent reserve usually qualifies his acceptance of its guidance.

b. The Other Greek Versions

The fact that the Greek versions of the second century after Christ were taken from the Hebrew text, and agreed much better with it than did the Septuagint, must have given them additional authority in the eyes of St. Jerome. And yet there is no evidence to show that he made use of them as anything but guides to his interpretation of the Hebrew. They were still versions, and in no sense could they take the place of the *veritas Hebraica.*

It comes to our notice at once that Jerome had formed a careful estimate of each of these versions, especially of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. Of them he says:

> Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotio incitati, diversum pene opus in eodem opere prodiderunt, alio nitente verbum de verbo exprimere, alio sensum potius sequi, tertium non multum a veteribus discrepare.[20]
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> Aquila autem proselytus et contentiosus interpres, qui non solum verba, sed etymologias quoque verborum transferre conatus est, jure projicitur a nobis. (Ep. 57.)[21]
>
> Jam pridem cum voluminibus Hebraeorum editionem Aquilae confero, ne quid forsitan propter odium Christi Synagoga mutaverit .... (Ep. 32 Ad Marcel.)[22]

We may, therefore, conclude that he was not disposed to follow their guidance blindly. He makes frequent mention of them in his commentaries, and openly acknowledges their influence on his version. In fact it is mainly from his commentaries that we learn the extent to which their interpretations enter into Jerome's version. Much that we know of these versions has been preserved for us by Jerome.[23]

We may draw the further conclusion that he did not make use of these Greek texts equally in all books. In Jonas, for example, he does not mention any of them. In Zachary there is comparatively little reference to them: none at all to *quinta,* rarely to

[20] MPL 27, 223.

[21] MPL 22, 577.

[22] MPL 22, 446.

[23] Field (*Originis Hexapla*) gathers much of his material from Jerome's commentaries. Additional evidences are taken by him mainly from Syro-Hex. and cod. 86.

Symmachus and Theodotion, mostly to Aquila, but even to him much less often than in other books. In many passages where we should like to know the interpretations of these versions, Jerome does not even allude to them; though it would be surprising if he plunged into the solution of these problems without so much as a glance at the views of others. This gives us the first hint of an important fact: Jerome maintained a spirit of independence towards these versions much more noticeable than his independence of the Septuagint.

This fact tells us chiefly what we wish to know about Jerome's attitude towards these influences. With his own training in Hebrew (begun some sixteen years before he undertook the translation of the Old Testament), he might have felt capable of going along by himself even when the text presented some difficulty. Perhaps his devotion to the *veritas Hebraica* had something to do with it. But whatever the reason, we must recognize that he was not too reliant on the later Greek versions. In his commentaries he leaves the distinct impression that he differed from them more than he agreed with them. In several places where one or more of them supports the Septuagint he still refuses their assistance.[24] We must admit that in most of the cases where he rejects their interpretations they disagree among themselves; and Jerome probably felt free to make his own attempt at expressing the thought of the Hebrew.[25]

In some few instances he differs from all these versions because they seem to suppose a text other than the Hebrew which Jerome had before him.[26] But for the most part his motive is his own search for a better or a clearer expression of the thought of the Hebrew. Thus his *caelabo sculpturam ejus* (Zach. 3:10) varies but slightly from these Greek versions. In Am. 3:1 he mentions but does not follow Symmachus, though he differs slightly from his translation. In Os. 5:5 he prefers *arrogantia* to the *injuria* of the Septuagint and Symmachus, and the *superbia* of Aquila and Theodotion. But here he adds: "quidquid igitur fecit Israel. . ," showing that some uncertainty remained in his mind. It is not seldom, however, that he ventures upon his own interpretation, indicating only that he does not agree with these versions, and assigning no further reason.[27]

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[24] Cf. on Am. 1:4 where Jerome reads *idoli*, LXX and Theo. *Ὤν*, the others *iniquitas* or *inutile*. In Am. 5:10 he has *loquentem perfecte* against Sym., Theo. and LXX. In Mal 3:17 he reads *in peculium* against the *περιποίησιν* of Sym., Theo. and LXX. In Os. 11:4 he has *Adam* against the *hominum* of all the others. Additional examples almost without number might be cited.

[25] E.g., in Os. 3:1 his *vinacia* is more correct than the version of the others. In Os. 3:4 he retains the Hebrew "ephod and Theraphim" against all. In Os. 4:14 his *cum effeminatis* is independent, though later he renders the term *meretrices* with Sym.

[26] Cf. Os. 7:11; though here Aq. and Sym. agree with LXX.

At the same time Jerome often preferred the interpretation of these versions to that which he found in the Septuagint. Reason for this is not hard to find. First of all they were not marked by the textual variations which so lessened the authority of the Septuagint. But more significantly, they were closer to the Hebrew text which Jerome was following. At times he even leaves the impression that he valued these versions above the Septuagint; but this impression should not weigh too heavily. In individual cases there is no question but that he preferred the later Greek versions; and the fact can be illustrated from almost every page of his commentaries. But for him the Septuagint had an authority that not all these versions together could claim: it was the common Christian text.

Moreover, Jerome made a distinction among these versions. His preference, as he tells us, was for Symmachus, whose interpretations he often qualifies with *apertius* or *manifestius*.[28] Sometimes he follows him while allowing that the interpretation of the others may be justified. With Symmachus he reads *ultor* in Os. 5:13; but he says that the *judex* of Aquila and Theodotion is acceptable.[29] Not infrequently he and Symmachus have the support of one of the others. This is the case in Os. 13:2 where Theodotion agrees with them, in Hab. 2:9 where it is *quinta*, in

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[27] Cf. Am. 4:3 where he translates *in Armon* against all the others; also Am. 5:26 (a very difficult passage) where his *Moloc vestro* and *imaginum* are independent of all the Greek versions.

[28] On Am. 3:11 he remarks: ".... Sym. qui non solet verborum *κακοζηλίαν*, sed intelligentiae ordinem sequi ...." In Zach. 4:11 he has *filii olei* with Sym.; in Hab. 3:5 *mors*; in Nah. 1:8 *loci ejus;* in Abd. 21 *salvatores;* in Am. 9:7 *Cyrene.* And in each of these cases, which are a few of many illustrations, he agrees with Sym. against all the others.

[29] In this instance LXX reads the term as a proper name. The term will also illustrate Jerome's hesitation to criticize the Hebrew text. The sense is not good with either *ultor* or *judex;* and it has been well suggested that the present ירב stands for an original ריב or מלכי רב.

Mal. 2:8 where it is Aquila. Instances of this are too numerous to require further illustration.

And yet he was as indepedent of Symmachus as he was of the others. This is clear from the many texts in which he expressly rejects the opinion of Symmachus.[30] In some other instances he even admits the value of Symmachus' interpretation and yet does not adopt it.[31] And it is not seldom that he accepts the view of one of the others against Symmachus.[32]

In estimating, then, the degree of influence exercised by these versions on the work of Jerome, we must conclude that at no time did he accept their help without discrimination. That they had much to do with shaping the ultimate reading of his own version can be allowed; they may have had much more to do with it then Jerome himself expressly acknowledges. Still, he followed their guidance only after carefully weighing its value. This is what we should expect from one who gives us so many other evidences of his scholarly approach.

3. OTHER INFLUENCES

Indication of still other influences bearing on Jerome's work may be found in his commentaries. He admits that for both his version and his exposition he is indebted to Jewish help. More indirectly he allows that his own Christian viewpoint worked itself into his version. There is still a third source upon which he must have drawn, that is, the Old Latin versions, although he does not so much as once admit that he drew upon them for his interpretation. In the matter of these influences we are on much less secure ground. Yet we can determine from his commentaries that they were at work, and we can here and there illustrate the nature of their effect.

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[30] In Nah. 3:1 Jerome reads *dilaceratione plena*, Sym. *crudelitate plena;* in Os. 14:1 Jerome has *pereat*, Sym. *aget poenitentiam;* in Joel 2:32 Jerome has *salvatio*, Sym. *qui fugerit*; in Am. 1:12 Jerome has *aedes*, Sym. *domus;* etc. In Mich. 5:4 he reads *convertentur* [שׁוב] and adds: "sive ut melius interpretatus est Sym. *habitabunt* [ישׁב]; verbum Hebraicum utrumque significat."

[31] On Hab. 2:9 he remarks: "... manifestius more suo transtulit Sym ..." and yet he does not follow him. In Mich. 2:8 he reads *e contraria*, but adds: "quia verbum *mul* et *contrarium* et diem hesternam sonat, Sym. apertius transtulit ut diceret: *ante unam diem.*" Cf. also on Os. 6:8.

[32] The instances of this are numerous enough. Cf. on Am. 4:13; Mich. 5:6; Abd. 18; Hab. 3:3; Soph. 3:9; etc. In Hab. 3:13 he reads *in salutem cum Christo tuo* with Aq. and *quinta*, and adds: "Isti (Theo. et Sym.) semichristiani Judaice transtulerunt: et Judaeus Aquila interpretatus est ut Christianus."

a. His Hebrew Instructor

Jerome makes some six or seven references to the assistance he received from his Hebrew instructor. We can give them here.

> Testis est mihi Dominus, me omnia quae secundum Hebraicum dissero, non de proprio sensu loqui .... ; sed Hebraeorum sequi expositionem, a quibus non modico tempore eruditus, debeo meis simpliciter indicare quae didici. (On Nah. 2:1f.)
>
> Hebraeus qui me in Scripturis erudivit, ita legi posse asseruit .... (On Nah. 3:8.)
>
> Hebraeus qui me in Scripturis instituit, asserebat .... (On Soph. 3:8.)
>
> (After quoting Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, with all of whom he differs, he adds:) quorum cum intelligentiam juxta historiam quaereremus ab Hebraeo, its nobis expositum est .... (On Os. 6:9.)
>
> Nos ab Hebraeo didicimus *sababim* proprie nominari *aranearum fila* .... (On Os. 8:6.)
>
> Hebraeus qui me in sanctis Scripturis erudivit, *tribulationem* interpretatus est, nec renuimus ejus sententiam .... (On Am. 3:11.)

From the confidence manifested in these references, there is a temptation to infer that he accepted much more help from the Jews than he formally acknowledges. He could mention at will the various Greek versions which lay open before him, while he gave credit to his Hebrew instructor only out of memory. This may explain why there is such a disproportion between his references to the one and the other of these sources. It remains possible that when he rejected the interpretations of all the Greek versions, and that at times in some very difficult passages, he may have been relying on the instructions once received from his Hebrew teacher. But if this is the case, Jerome himself does not take the trouble to inform us of it.

It should be noted that in four of the above quotations he followed the Hebrew instructor against all the Greek versions. And in the case of Am. 3:11 he does so against Aquila and Theodotion, although Symmachus is rather in agreement with him. Is this enough evidence to establish that he valued the opinion of the Hebrew above that of the Greek versions? If so, then this instructor's influence was greater than might at first appear. That Jerome was well versed in the views of the Hebrews needs no illustration; he refers to them constantly when expounding the literal or historical meaning of the text. But to what extent he allowed this knowledge to become effective in his version is difficult to determine from his commentaries.

But again, his dependence upon even this source of interpretation was not without its exceptions. He could readily accept their division of sentences, as in Os. 4:4 and 6:6f; but he could also reject their opinions. An example of this will be found in Am. 5:8f:

> Hebraeus autem, qui nos in Scripturis sanctis erudivit, *chasil* interpretari putat *splendorem,* et significare generaliter *astra fulgentia.*

Though here he is inclined to prefer the interpretation of his instructor to that given by Symmachus and Theodotion, he still read *Orionem* in his version. Again, he observes on Joel 2:32 that the Jews think *s^{e}rîdîm* the name of a place; and yet he does not give it as a proper name in his version. He may have refused to follow this guidance in many other passages, but these are the only instances in his commentaries on the Minor Prophets of his having done so formally. Still, if we take into consideration his caution in accepting the help of the Greek versions, we may safely hold that he was no less independent of the opinion of his Hebrew instructor.

b. Christian Influences

It is well known that Jerome gives to some passages in his Old Testament a Messianic interpretation that cannot be found in the Hebrew text. There are a few instances of this in his version of the Minor Prophets.[33] Only once he rather clearly admits that the New Testament had a bearing on his interpretation; but there are a few other cases in which it is quite evident that he was under its influence.

In Os. 13:3 he reads *Ero mors tua, O mors.* He justifies this translation against the Septuagint (*ubi est causa tua, mors*), against Aquila and quinta (*ubi sunt sermones tui*), and against Symmachus (*ero plaga tua*). While he can explain that he reads *deber* in place of *dābār,* his real motive appears in his assertion: "Itaque quod ille [St. Paul in 1 Cor. 15:54] in resurrectionem interpretatus est Domini, nos aliter interpretari nec possumus nec audemus."

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[33] Cf. footnote 32.

In commenting on Os. 11:1 he rather firmly sets aside the *filios meos* of the Septuagint, adding: "Quod in Hebraico non habetur: nullique dubium est, Mattheum de hoc loco sumpsisse testimonium juxta Hebraicam veritatem." He is certainly correct according to the Hebrew; but his spirited comment rises out of the reading of Matt. 2:15.

Another evidence of this influence of the New Testament may be found in his Messianic interpretation of Hab. 3:18 where he reads *et exultabo in Deo Jesu meo.* That he is here under the influence of Mt. 1:21 can hardly be doubted, since he quotes that text.

These examples, it is true, are few and isolated. And yet they are enough to illustrate, if they cannot determine, the extent of the New Testament's direct bearing on Jerome's version. From other indications we may suppose that he was for the most part inclined to a reserved use also of this source of guidance. An illustrative outline, such as the present, can do no more than instance the fact.

c. The Old Latin

Jerome never mentions the Old Latin versions in his commentaries on the Minor Prophets. This might at first leave the impression that he never took them into account in his version. Several reasons lead us to believe that this was not the case.

That he was well acquainted with the Old Latin goes without saying. In fact he was kept rather painfully aware of it by the controversies awakened by his new Latin version. Towards it he would take, probably, an attitude somewhat less complimentary than he manifested towards the Septuagint. If the current Greek text was but a version of the *veritas Hebraica,* and one that merited no little criticism, the Old Latin was in turn a version of the Greek, showing still greater uncertainty in its text, and adding the other defects of the early Latin translations. This may define his real disposition towards the Old Latin; or it may only provide the reason why he did not feel called upon to refer to it.

And yet some traces of the Old Latin in Jerome's version may be found in the semitisms which are foreign to his own style. The Latin version of the Septuagint which he includes in his commentaries was in all probability very close to the Old Latin, if not actually taken from it; and Jerome is not seldom in agreement with its terms. After having "tempered his pen" in the revision of the Latin New Testament, it would have been somewhat difficult for him to escape entirely the influence of the Old Latin versions.

At the basis, then, of Jerome's version of the Old Testament stands the Hebrew text, from the reading of which he seldom if ever deliberately varied. But in seeking the interpretation of that text he admitted the influence of a number of other sources. Never servile in his reliance upon these sources, he nevertheless drew from them much that we now read in his own version. For the most part he freely acknowledges this borrowing, if it can be so termed; but in doing so he impresses us with his earnest search for the most accurate statement of the thought of the *veritas Hebraica.*

Time has approved this disposition of Jerome, and it has also confirmed in many ways the judgment he had passed on the Greek versions. Nor has it taught us to diverge very far from methods he followed. To this extent his procedure, as well as his version, enters into the work of revision which we have undertaken. Two things stand out in his procedure as especially exemplary: his zealous quest for the sense of the original divine message; his critical attitude towards the means he used in this quest. With this disposition so clearly manifest in his methods, Jerome could not object to our taking a similar attitude towards his own version. He would not have us follow a less earnest policy.

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ST. IRENAEUS AND THE DATES OF THE SYNOPTICS*

I

In discussions on the first and second century traditions of the Church the views of Irenaeus of Lugdunum are of paramount importance. His birth very probably in the thirties of the second century[1] and his acquaintance with St. Polycarp make him a figure of very great consequence in the early Church. Intimately connected with the Christian communities of the Asiatic littoral and with the great Church of Rome, Irenaeus is rightly regarded as a representative of Roman and Asiatic tradition. The influential role played by Irenaeus in the Paschal controversy bears witness to the strong position held by that ancient bishop in the ecclesiastical world of the second century. Should it happen, then, that Irenaeus be found in disagreement with historical traditions recorded by other writers of his time, his variant views cannot pass unnoticed, much less be entirely disregarded.

IRENAEUS' FOUR GOSPEL PASSAGE. Concerning the time of composition of the Synoptic Gospels, the teachings of Irenaeus are, to say the least, in seeming disagreement with the ancient Alexandrian tradition followed by later ecclesiastical writers and generally accepted by modern Catholic scholarship. These teachings of Irenaeus are to be found in his famous passage on the four gospels in his work *Adversus Haereses* (III, i, 1).

The text of this passage comes down to us in the old Latin version of *Adv. Haereses*[2] and in a Greek excerpt made by Eusebius for his *Church History*.[3] In the following discussion it will be advisable to have this crucial text in its Latin and Greek form as well as the immediate context before our eyes:

1. Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostrae cognovimus, quam per eos per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tunc praeconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis

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* Editor's Note: This able analysis of St. Irenaeus' testimony will be published in three parts.

[1] Cf. F. R. M. Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum,* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1914), p. 2.

[2] Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses,* III, i, 1; ed. Harvey, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Typis Acad., 1857), Vol. II, pp. 3-6; MPG 7, 844 B-845 B. We shall follow the more common chapter and section numbering of Massuet's edition as reprited in MPG 7.

[3] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* V, viii, 2-4; CGS Berol., Euseb. Tom. II-1, pp. 442 ff.; MPG 20, 449 A.

nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostrae futurum. Nec enim fas est dicere, quoniam ante praedicaverunt quam perfectam haberent agnitionem; sicut quidam audent dicere, gloriantes emendatores se esse Apostolorum. Postea enim quam surrexit Dominus noster a mortuis, et induti sunt supervenientis Spiritus sancti virtutem ex alto, de omnibus adimpleti sunt, et habuerunt perfectam agnitionem; exierunt in fines terrae, ea quae a Deo nobis bona sunt evangelizantes, et coelestem pacem hominibus annuntiantes, qui quidem et omnes pariter et singuli eorum habentes Evangelium Dei.

Ita Matthaeus in Hebraeis ipsorum lingua scripturam edidit Evangelii, cum Petrus et Paulus Romae evangelizarent et fundarent Ecclesiam. Post vero horum excessum, Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri, et ipse quae a Petro annuntiata erant, per scripta nobis tradidit. Et Lucas autem sectator Pauli, quod ab illo praedicabatur Evangelium, in libro condidit. Postea et Iohannes discipulus Domini, qui et supra pectus eius recumbebat, et ipse edidit Evangelium, Ephesi Asiae commorans.

[*ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον, Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν· καὶ Λουκᾶς δέ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βίβλῳ κατέθετο. ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκεν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.*]

2. Et omnes isti unum Deum factorem coeli et terrae a lege et prophetis annuntiatum, et unum Christum filium Dei tradiderunt nobis: quibus si quis non assentit, spernit quidem participes Domini, spernit autem et ipsum Christum ...

Even a cursory reading of this Four Gospel passage leads inevitably to some startling observations. To be sure, Irenaeus does appear in several points to be quite in harmony with the rest of tradition. Thus, he lists the gospels according to their traditional order; he attests the Aramaic origin of Mt., and the publication of that gospel in Palestine; he locates the composition of Jn. at Ephesus. Again, Irenaeus's account of the relation of Mark to Peter and of Luke to Paul is in accord with other ancient witnesses of tradition. But when we note the time seemingly assigned by Irenaeus to the composition or publication of the three Synoptic Gospels, the position taken by that ancient bishop appears truly unique.

In the case of Aramaic Mt., Irenaeus would seem to suppose a date later than the spring of 61 A.D. For he presents the publication of that gospel as synchronous with the preaching of Peter and Paul at Rome. Now, whatever is to be said of the period of Peter's Roman ministry, Paul's first visit to Rome was certainly that of the captivity described in Acts 28:16 ff. And modern studies[4] on Pauline chronology have shown that Paul's two years of captivity at Rome began in the spring of 61 A.D., or possibly in the spring of 60 A.D. Irenaeus's views on the time of composition of the other two Synoptics are equally surprising. As the phrase *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον* is rather generally regarded as signifying the period that followed the deaths of Peter and Paul,[5] Irenaeus would seem to have dated Mk. and Lk. after the deaths of the two apostles. Now as Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom sometime within the year 64–67 A.D., Mk. and Lk. would belong, according to Irenaeus, to the closing years of the seventh decade of the first century at the very earliest.

THE ALEXANDRIAN TRADITION ON THE SYNOPTIC DATES. Apart from the present text of Irenaeus, writings of the second century are disappointingly meagre in time-data concerning the Synoptic Gospels. Information coming down to us from that period on the dates to be assigned to Lk. and Mt. is vague and mainly inferential. With regard to Mk., however, we are somewhat better off. In the sixth book of his now fragmentary *Hypotyposeis,*[6] Clement of Alexandria, a younger contemporary of Irenaeus, states that Mk. was written at Rome at a time when Peter was still actively engaged there in the ministry of the gospel. If the *Hypotyposeis* belong to the earlier period of Clement's literary career,[7] this teaching of his on the time of composition of Mk. is virtually contemporaneous with the *Adv. Haereses* of Irenaeus. Indeed, the sources used by Clement may be older than Irenaeus. For in a later section of his *Church History*[8] where this teaching of Clement is again mentioned, Eusebius[9] indicates that Clement's statement on Mk.,[10] like that on Mt. and Lk., came down from "the earliest presbyters." Now these "earliest presbyters" must surely have been as ancient as Irenaeus, if not senior to him. Indeed, a rigid interpretation of the expression might date those presbyters at the very beginning of the sub-apostolic age.

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[4] Cf. A. Brassac, "Une inscription de Delphes et la chronologie de saint Paul," *Revue Biblique,* N.S. X (1913) pp. 36 ff.; pp. 207 ff. Cf. also Th. Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament,* 2 vols. (Leipzig: Deichert, 1897-1899), Vol. II, Excurs II, pp. 626 ff.; esp. p. 642. Cf. also U. Holzmeister, S.J., *Historia Aetatis Novi Testamenti* (Romae: Pont. Instit. Bibl., 1932), no. 117-123, pp. 119 ff.

[5] Cf. M. J. Lagrange, O.P., *Évangile selon Saint Luc* (Paris: Gabalda, ed. 3, 1927), pp. XXV f.

[6] Clemens Alex., *Hypotyposeis,* quoted indirectly by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.,* II, xv, 1 f.; CGS Berol., Euseb. Tom. II-1, p. 140; MPG 20, 172 B.

[7] Cf. A. Harnack, *Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur,* 2 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904), Vol. II, p. 20; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur,* 5 vols. (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, ed. 2, 1913 ff.), Vol. II, p. 76.

Unquestionably, this Alexandrian tradition is very ancient. Accepted by Eusebius himself[11] and by Epiphanius,[12] it became the standard teaching of later ecclesiastical writers.

MODERN CATHOLIC VIEWS. To turn now to the findings of modern Catholic scholarship, it may be safely said that Catholic critics are in general agreement on the dates to be assigned to the Synoptic Gospels. And the conclusions of the Catholic scholars of today, it should be noted, are based not only on the data of ancient tradition, but on a painstaking study of the gospel documents as well. Last of the Synoptic Gospels in sequence, Lk. is not usually dated later than *c.* 61 A.D.[13] The common authorship of Lk. and Acts combined with the manifest priority of Lk. to Acts imposes that conclusion.[14] As for the two earlier gospels, Aramaic Mt. is commonly dated in the fifth or early sixth decade of the first century,[15] Mk. in the latter part of the sixth decade.[16]

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[8] Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, VI, xiv, 5 ff.; CGS Berol., Euseb. Tom. II-2, p. 550; MPG 20, 552 A f. Cf. also Clemens Alex., *Adumbratio* in 1 Pet. 5:13; CGS Berol., Clem. Tom. III, p. 206.

[9] If the less supported reading ἔλεγον (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, VI, xiv, 5; cf. *supra*, note 8), which Zahn (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, no. 49, p. 182) prefers on intrinsic grounds, is followed, it will be Clement himself who attributes this information to the ancient presbyters; but if ἔλεγεν is followed, Eusebius is the one who ascribes the information on the Gospels to the presbyters.

[10] Dom Chapman suggested that the sentence on Mark as given by Eusebius (*loc. cit.*) is an importation by Eusebius from the *Adumbratio* on 1 Pet. 5:13. Cf. *Journ. Theol. Stud.* VI (1904-5), p. 568.

[11] Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.*, II, xv, 1 f.; CGS Berol., Euseb. Tom. II-1, p. 140; MPG 20, 172 B f.

[12] Cf. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Haer. LI, vi, 10; CGS Berol., Epiphan. Tom. II, p. 256; MPG 41, 897 C—900 A.

[13] Cf. L. Pirot, "Évangiles et Commission Biblique," *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément*, II (1934), col. 1256; *idem*, "Actes des Apôtres," *Dict. de la Bible*: *Supplém.*, I (1928), col. 56 f.

[14] Cf. M. J. Lagrange, O.P., *op. cit.*, pp. XX ff.

Attempts at Harmonization. From the standpoint both of Alexandrian tradition and of modern Catholic criticism, the position seemingly defended by Irenaeus on the dates of the Synoptics is most singular. Nor is its strangeness diminished by the fact that it appears to have exerted no influence on the minds of later writers.[17] There is no echo of Irenaeus' peculiar views in Tertullian or Hippolytus, writers familiar with Irenaeus' works. And Eusebius, despite the fact that he quotes the Four Gospel passage, makes no remark on the seeming divergence of Irenaeus's views from the tradition recorded by Clement. Nor does the great historian give any indication that Irenaeus was at variance with his own judgment on the question. Yet it was not Eusebius' custom to pass over in silence differences of view in matters concerning the origin of New Testament documents.[18]

Conservative scholars, non-Catholic as well as Catholic, have sought in various ways to bring Irenaeus into harmony with the general tradition. Some did not hesitate to do violence to the text. Patrizi, for example, proposed a construction[19] of the first two sentences of the Four Gospel passage which was utterly impossible. One or two writers have supposed the omission of an entire phrase in the first part of the Matthaean testimony. With regard to the Markan and Lukan portions of the text, numerous critics have taken ἔξοδον (*excessum*) to mean 'departure,' a departure of Peter and Paul either from Rome or from Palestine. There is no need to enter upon a detailed catalogue of the various explanations that have been advanced.

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[15] Cf. L. Pirot, "Évangiles et Commission Biblique," *Dict. de la Bible: Supplém.*, II (1934), col. 1238 ff.

[16] Cf. *idem, art. cit.*, col. 1253 ff.

[17] Although the so-called Monarchian prologue to Lk. [Cf. P. Corssen, *Monarchianische Prologe zu den vier Evangelien* (Texte und Untersuchungen, XV, 1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897), pp. 7 ff.] seems to place the composition of Lk. after the death of Paul, this document does not seem to be under the influence of Irenaeus.

[18] E.g., in the case of Heb. and Apoc.

[19] F. X. Patritius, S.J., *De Evangeliis Libri Tres* (Friburgi Br.: Herder, 1853), Vol. I, p. 38 (no. 20-22). Thus no. 20: "Forte etiam verba *cum Petrus et Paulus etc.* non cum prioribus iunxerat, sed cum posterioribus, et punctum, quod modo est post illa, ante illa posuerat, ut sensus foret Marcum et Lucam, *cum Petrus et Paulus Romae praedicarent et fundarent ecclesiam,* atque adeo *post horum* inde *profectionem,* evangelium a se conscriptum nobis tradidisse."

In 1905 Dom John Chapman proposed a solution[20] that must be regarded as a step in the right direction. While Chapman's explanation does not fully clear away the problems of the Four Gospel passage, his general procedure is sound. Since so much of the difficulty of this passage turns on what Irenaeus meant to say and to emphasize, Chapman determined to approach the problems of the text from the standpoint of its general context. This is certainly the method which would meet with Irenaeus' approval.[21] It is the method which we shall try to follow in this paper.

Problem and Procedure. The aim of this paper is not to harmonize Irenaeus with Clement, but rather to determine how Irenaeus himself understood the time-indications of the Four Gospel passage and then to uncover, if possible, the tradition on which Irenaeus' statements are based. And so, like Chapman, we must first endeavor to learn, in the light of the general context, the precise points that Irenaeus wished to stress in the Four Gospel passage. Next, we must evaluate, in accordance with the points of emphasis intended by Irenaeus, the information imparted by him on the dating of the Synoptics. This information, as understood by Irenaeus, must be compared with the more common tradition. We must also carefully segregate from Irenaeus' statements such elements as cannot have been of first century provenance.

Part One: The General Context

By way of preamble, it may be noted that the old Latin reading "Ita Matthaeus" seems preferable to the corresponding Greek text as found in Eusebius. Theodore Zahn[22] was very probably right in his view that the primitive Greek text of Irenaeus read *οὕτως ὁ Ματθαῖος*. For, while the reading *ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος* represents the genuine text of Eusebius' quotation, one cannot help suspecting that here, as not infrequently in the initial part of

[20] J. Chapman, O.S.B., "St. Irenaeus and the Dates of the Gospels," *Journal of Theological Studies,* VI (1904-5), pp. 563 ff.

[21] Irenaeus finds fault with the failure of so many of the heretics to interpret texts of St. Paul according to Pauline style and mentality: *Adv. Haer.* V, xiii, 2; ed. Harvey II, p. 356; MPG 7, 1157 B.

[22] Cf. Th. Zahn, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 180 (=note 7 to p. 177).

other quotations,[23] a slight modification of the opening words of the Four Gospel passage was made by Eusebius in order to fit Irenaeus' text more neatly into the structure of the *Church History.*

Certainly, the reading "Ita Matthaeus" is very ancient. Indeed, it is quite probable that the old Latin version of *Adv. Haereses* was made toward the end of the second century.[24] Furthermore, it must be remembered that the Greek fragments of this work of Irenaeus do not invariably provide a text superior to that of the Old Latin version. As for the present case, it is easy to see why Eusebius might drop an initial οὕτως and why it would have been inconvenient to retain it. Had Eusebius retained that adverb, he would have had to cite much more of the text of Irenaeus. Without part at least of the preceding context initial οὕτως would have been meaningless and awkward. By way of further confirmation, we may note that it is quite in the style of Irenaeus to place οὕτως (Ita), followed by a proper name or by a simple noun, at the head of such sentences.[25]

Our insistence on this detail of text is not without a purpose. For the reading "Ita Matthaeus" is Irenaeus' own statement of the essentially illustrative character of the Four Gospel passage in relation to the foregoing context.

1. The Antecedent Context. No mere antiquarian, Irenaeus was not retailing the minutiae of Gnosticism or discussing an ancient tradition purely in a spirit of intellectual enjoyment. He had a most practical purpose in view. He wished his *Adv. Haereses* to supply the faithful of his day with weapons of knowledge and argument to combat the Gnostics. And his point of view, of course, was that of his own time, the last quarter of the second century. It seems a point of capital importance to grasp clearly the essentially practical character of Irenaeus' outlook.

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[23] Cf. the judgment of Freudenthal, quoted by H. St. J. Thackeray, in H. B. Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1900), p. 516. For an example of the tendency in question, compare Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, IV, xviii, 7 (CGS Berol., Euseb. Tom. II-1, p. 366; MPG 20, 376 B) with Justin, *Dial.* XVII, 1 (ed. Archambault, p. 78; MPG 6, 512 BC).

[24] Cf. A. d'Alès, "La date de la version latine de Saint Irénée," *Rech. de science religieuse,* VI (1916) pp. 133 ff.

[25] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* I, viii, 5; III, xii, 4; etc.

In the *Praefatio* to the third book of *Adv. Haereses,*[26] Irenaeus states that his aim is to overwhelm the Gnostics with arguments drawn from Scripture. In the previous two books, he has already outlined the various branches of Gnosticism and described their origin; he has shown their utter inacceptability by means of vigorous philosophical refutation. Here in Book Three, the beginning of his positive exposé of the real doctrine of truth, Irenaeus determines to bring forward scriptural arguments and, where the exceptions of the heretics demand it, arguments based on the unwritten tradition of the Churches.

These testimonies of Scripture will greatly enforce the resistance against the heretics which the faithful must make "pro sola vera ac vivifica fide, quam *ab apostolis* ecclesia percepit et distribuit filiis suis." Here appears Irenaeus' first reference to the apostles, whose position and authority will dominate all that follows. As Irenaeus is to use the gospels to a large extent in his Scriptural argumentation, he hastens at once to bring out the relation of the gospel to the apostles. "Dominus omnium," he states, "dedit apostolis suis potestatem evangelii, per quos et veritatem, hoc est Dei Filii doctrinam, cognovimus." And then, emphasizing the finality and absolute character of the teaching of the apostles, Irenaeus quotes the Lord's promise to them, "Qui vos audit, me audit. . ." (Lk. 10:16).

At the beginning of the Third Book proper,[27] Irenaeus asserts that the knowledge which he and his contemporaries have of the economy of salvation, comes through the apostles: it was through the apostles that "the gospel reached us." True, in the earlier period of their labors, the preaching of the apostles was entirely oral. In that form, of course, it could not continue down to Irenaeus' time. But, later on in their careers, the apostles transmitted the gospel to posterity in documentary form: "in scripturis nobis tradiderunt." At this point, in a brief digression, Irenaeus takes care to deny indignantly the allegation of the Gnostics that the apostles preached before attaining full knowledge. Quite the contrary, Irenaeus answers, the apostles had fulness of knowledge right from the first Christian Pentecost when the Holy Spirit came down upon them. And so they were completely equipped with the arsenal of truth when "they went forth to the ends of the earth," preaching the gospel as heralds of heavenly peace. Each and every one of them alike went forth bearing the gospel of God.

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[26] For this paragraph, cf. *Adv. Haer.*, III, *Praef.;* ed. Harvey II, p. 1; MPG 7, 843 f.

[27] For this paragraph, cf. *Adv. Haer.* III, i, 1; ed. Harvey II, p. 2; MPG 7, 844.

2. THE FOUR GOSPEL PASSAGE: AN EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE PRECEDING CONTEXT. We have already seen[28] that this passage was intended by Irenaeus, at least partially, to illustrate what had been said in the sentences preceding. A brief consideration of the Four Gospel passage from this standpoint will help to bring into clearer focus the features which Irenaeus intended to be primarily stressed.

The theme of the foregoing section is the gospel, the gospel preached orally and perpetuated in written form. Now it is precisely this theme that the Four Gospel passage presents in concrete fashion. Although all the apostles had gone forth from Jerusalem with the gospel of God, Irenaeus feels no need to mention more than four of them. For only four apostles stand in close relation to the written gospels which Irenaeus and his contemporaries are using. Matthew and John, Irenaeus tells us, published their respective texts of the gospel—no doubt, after years of oral preaching. If Peter and Paul, after preaching the gospel at Rome and laying the foundation of the great central Church, failed to write out their texts of the gospel, the compositions of Mark and Luke are really to be accounted the gospels of Peter and Paul.

That Peter and Paul are the men really responsible for Mk. and Lk., is the clear teaching of Irenaeus. While he does not deny the Markan and Lukan authorship of the two documents, he does emphasize that in origin these documents are apostolic. They are the gospels of Peter and Paul. Thus, further on in this Third Book, Irenaeus concludes a discussion with these words:[29] "Manifesta igitur et apostolorum et discentium [= discipulorum (viz., Mark and Luke)] eorum ex verbis ipsorum de Deo facta est sententia." Again, referring apparently to the Four Gospels, Irenaeus uses this expression:[30] "Petrus et Iohannes et Matthaeus et Paulus."

There can be really no doubt that Peter and Paul, in this Four Gospel passage, loomed larger in Irenaeus's mind than the actual authors of the Second and Third Gospels. Here the central figures are not the four evangelists, but the four apostles: Matthew and John, Peter and Paul. For it is their preaching of the gospel, it is the written perpetuation of their gospel, that serves to illustrate and exemplify Irenaeus' previous theme.

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[28] Cf. *supra*, p. 40.

[29] *Adv. Haer.* III, xv, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 81; MPG 7, 919 B.

[30] *Adv. Haer.* III, xxi, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 115; MPG 7, 950 A.

There is also another feature of the preceding context directly exemplified in the Four Gospel passage. The apostles, Irenaeus said, went forth to the ends of the earth with the gospel of salvation. Now, granted that this exodus of the apostles can hardly be said to find illustration in what Irenaeus writes of Matthew's apostolate in Palestine, the references to John's residence at Ephesus and to the labors of Peter and Paul at Rome do serve to exemplify the distant lands reached in the missionary travels of the apostles. It may perhaps seem far-fetched to see in this mention of Rome and Ephesus an exemplification of the "fines terrae" of which Irenaeus speaks. Yet this interpretation is in accord with a somewhat similar passage in Book Two[31] of *Adv. Haereses.* There, after speaking of the Church as spread "to the ends of the earth," Irenaeus enumerates the Churches of Germany, Spain, Gaul, 'the Orients,' Egypt, Libya and the "middle regions of the world."

3. THE SUCCEEDING CONTEXT. Irenaeus has indicated the apostolic character of the gospel of God and he has noted that the Four Gospels in use in his time are but the written continuation of the oral gospel of the apostles. He has pointed out the place of composition of two of the Gospels; he has named the four apostles responsible, directly or indirectly, for the Four Gospels. And now, after all this preparation, Irenaeus is in position to drive home the practical point he has had in mind all along. "Et omnes isti, he says, "unum Deum factorem coeli et terrae a lege et prophetis annunciatum, et unum Christum filium Dei tradiderunt nobis. ."[32] Despite the fact that the apostolic gospel comes down to Irenaeus's time in four different documents, despite the fact that these four documents are traceable to four different apostles, all four documents are in doctrinal agreement.

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[31] *Adv. Haer.* I, x, 1-2; ed. Harvey I, pp. 90-93; MPG 7, 549 A-553 A.

[32] Cf. *supra,* p. 2.

[33] Thus Matthew is mentioned, I, xxvi, 2 (ed. Harvey I, p. 217; MPG 7, 687 A), and Luke is named, I, xxvii, 2 (ed. Harvey I, p. 217; MPG 7, 688 B). Irenaeus speaks of John several times: e.g., II, ii, 5 (ed. Harvey I, p. 256; MPG 7, 715 A).

Although Mt. was written in the language of the Hebrews and the other three in Greek, although Ephesus and Rome and distant Palestine were the places of origin of the four documents, all four hand down to Irenaeus and to the men of his day the same central teachings.

4. SECONDARY FEATURES OF THE FOUR GOSPEL PASSAGE. A study of this passage apart from its context tends to create more than one false impression. There is a natural inclination to suppose that the Four Gospel passage must have been primary in whatever context it occurred. Yet we have seen that the passage was inserted by Irenaeus in illustration of his previous remarks and that it is definitely subordinate to the polemic objective in view. Again, the isolated Greek fragment gives the impression that the information conveyed is quite new. Actually, however, Irenaeus has already referred by name to the evangelists Matthew, Luke and John in the previous two books.[33] Though he does not seem to have mentioned Mark in the foregoing books, he has made some use of the Second Gospel in his description of the Gnostic variations.[34] In like manner, Irenaeus has already spoken,[35] even more definitely than here in the Four Gospel passage, of the long residence of John at Ephesus.

It is also sometimes inferred from the detached text in Eusebius that Irenaeus' endeavors in this passage was to inculcate the genuinity of the Four Gospels. Yet we have seen in our review of the context that Irenaeus' attention was fixed, not so much on the four evangelists, as on the four apostles—namely, Matthew and John, Peter and Paul,—to whom, whether as authors or sources, the four documents were due. For the rest, the question of gospel authorship was not then at issue. The heretics might indeed prefer this or that gospel to the others, or they might accept the authority of this or that evangelist over the rest, but they do not seem to have denied the traditional authorships of the Gospels.

Now if so serious a matter as the authorship of the gospels was only a secondary consideration in the Four Gospel passage, what is to be said of the time-indications found therein? Were

[34] There are several allusions to Mk. in the first two books of *Adv. Haer.*: cf. ed. Harvey I, pp. 27, 57, 139, 338, etc. For the rest, Tertullian, *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, 38 (MPL 2, 52 B), states that Valentinus, the Gnostic leader, used "integro instrumento."

[35] *Adv. Haer.* II, xxii, 5; ed. Harvey I, p. 331; MPG 7, 785 A.

these data primarily intended by Irenaeus? In the light of the general context, it seems safe to maintain that indications of time formed no principal part of Irenaeus's purview. It was sufficient for his general scope to state that the four gospels are of apostolic origin: their precise dates within the apostolic age were matters of lesser importance.

It cannot be denied, of course, that indications of time are present in the Four Gospel passage. The mere fact that gospel dates did not form part of Irenaeus's primary purpose in the context, does not warrant the inference that no information on the gospel dates is conveyed in the text. Certainly, Irenaeus outlines clearly the succession of the Gospels,[36] and his statements in illustration of the preceding context serve, though less directly, to fix the dating of the Gospels.

Thus, to turn for a moment to Irenaeus' remarks on the Fourth Gospel, his mention of John's residence at Ephesus describes the time of the Fourth Gospel although our study of the general context[37] has shown that that reference is primarily geographic. That it was not primarily temporal in force, seems clear from the fact that our author could hardly have meant the phrase "Ephesi Asiae commorans" to indicate any very precise date of publication. In Book Two,[38] Irenaeus had already hinted clearly enough that John's residence at Ephesus lasted many years. And surely there is nothing here of the definiteness with which Irenaeus determines the date of the Apocalypse.[39]

As in the case of Jn., the time-data relative to the Synoptics seem secondary in our text. The period when Mt. was published is vaguely determined in the geographic phrase "in Hebraeis," and somewhat more definitely, it would seem, in Irenaeus' words describing the activitity of Peter and Paul at Rome. But, as we have already noted, these labors of Peter and Paul in the imperial capital were intended by Irenaeus to exemplify the outward extent of the missionary travels of the apostles. As for the other two Synoptics, though his main interest lay in the Petrine and Pauline origin of the two documents, Irenaeus does clearly place them after Aramaic Mt.; and he would seem, at least at first sight, to locate them after the deaths of Peter and Paul.

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[36] We shall return to this point at the end of the paper.

[37] Cf. *supra*, p. 43.

[38] Cf. *supra*, note 35.

[39] Viz., "toward the end of the reign of Domitian." Cf. *Adv. Haer.* V, xxx, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 410; MPG 7, 1207 B.—Irenaeus does inform us too that Jn. was written to combat the errors of the Nikolaitans and of Cerinthus (cf. *Adv. Haer.* III, xi, 1), but he gives no indication of the time when Cerinthus began his work in Asia.

The secondary character of the time-data in the Four Gospel passage must be kept in mind throughout the following more detailed examination of Irenaeus' text.

(*To be continued*)

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ANCIENT WISDOM AND MODERN TIMES

II

It is not often that we read in Sacred Scripture harsh words about an individual, but we can imagine our author dipping his calamus in literary vinegar to write these words:

> "A jealous woman causes heartache and sadness.
> With a jealous woman the tongue is a scourge which reveals things to everyone.
> Like a shaking ox-yoke is a wicked woman;
> he that takes hold of her is like one that seizes a scorpion.
> A drunken woman causes great anger,
> and her disgrace and shame will not be hidden.
> The immorality of a woman, by the raising of her eyes
> and by her eyelids, will be known" (26:8-12).

Then he turns to the young flippant girls of his time and speaks sharply to their father:

> "Upon a daughter that does not turn herself away, keep a strict watch,
> lest she find an opportunity and make use of it for herself.
> Guard against all shamelessness of her eyes,
> and be not surprised if she ignore thee.
> As a thirsty traveller at a well will open his mouth,
> and will drink of any water that is near,
> she will sit down by every peg,
> and will open her quiver for every arrow until she weakens" (26:13-15).

And he returns again to the theme:

> "Keep a close guard over a shameless daughter,
> lest some time she make thee a laughing-stock before thy enemies,
> a byword in the city and a reproach among people,
> and lest she shame thee before the multitude of people" (42:11).

A superficial reading of Ecclesiasticus might lead one to draw the conclusion that the author was a woman-hater, for the picture he presents in 25:28-36 and particularly in 42:12-14 is not very complimentary:

"Look not upon the beauty of anyone,
and dally not with women,
for from garments comes a moth,
and from a woman comes man's iniquity.
For better is a man's iniquity than a woman that does good,
and than a woman that brings shame and disgrace."

But in both of these passages he is warning his fellow-men to avoid promiscuous women, who, as experience had taught his people, can lead men into the sin of unfaithfulness. We may see his ideal of womankind in the beautiful passage in which he sings the praises of a virtuous woman, a passage that compares favorably with the better known description of the valiant women, found in Prov. 31:10-31:

"Blessed is the husband of a good wife,
and the number of his years is doubled.
A virtuous wife pleases her husband,
and he will complete the years of his life in peace.
A good wife is a good portion,
she will be given as the portion of those who fear the LORD,
to a man for his good deeds.
Be he rich or poor, his heart is content,
at all times his countenance is cheerful" (26:1-4).

"The charm of a solicitous wife will delight her husband,
and will fatten his bones.
Her knowledge is a gift of the LORD.
Such is an intelligent and silent wife;
beyond compare is a well-formed soul.
Grace upon grace is a holy and modest wife.
And there is no sum worthy of a chaste soul.
Like the sun, rising to the world upon the heights of the LORD,
so is the beauty of a good wife for the adorning of her house.
Like the lamp shining upon the holy candlestick
is the beauty of the face in mature age.
Like the pillars of gold upon bases of silver
are firm feet upon the soles of a steadfast woman.

Like everlasting foundations upon a solid rock
are the commandments of God in the heart of a
holy woman" (26:16-24).

In his contacts with others, the loyal Jew was to be careful lest he offend against public opinion when it was right:

"Sin not against the multitude of the city" (7:7a),

but he was to fight against injustice wherever and whenever he found it, even at the cost of his life:

"Fight for justice on behalf of thy soul,
fight for justice even unto death,
and the LORD will overthrow thy enemies for thee"
(4:33).

There was only one thing of which he should be ashamed, and that was of being false to his vocation as a Jew, and to his ideals.

Sometimes we meet people whose heart, as the saying has it, is as good as gold, who live up to their religious duties quite well, but who in their daily actions are crude, almost vulgar and boorish; they sometimes boast of their failure to observe the amenities of civilized society which make life more friendly and pleasant. Ben Sira would not agree with them, for he writes very definitely and emphatically that we must observe etiquette and convention; for example: we must not be "cabin-hunters" (21:25,26); we must not indulge in immoderate laughter (21:23) or in gossip (21:28,31); table manners are to be rigidly practiced for reasons of politeness and health (31:12-25; 41:24b); we should avoid excessive drinking (31:30,31,38-42), although his views on wine are not those of a teetotaler but remind us of Horace and his attachment to the lovely Falernian wine:

"Wine taken in moderation makes for an even life
among men;
if thou drink it in moderation, thou wilt be sober.
What life has he that is without wine?
What takes away life? Death.
From the very beginning wine was created
for joy and not for drunkenness.
The joy of soul and heart is wine drunk in moderation.
Sober drinking is health for soul and body" (31:32-37).

Finally, we should not put all our money into clothes, for the fop is easily recognized by all:

"The clothing of the body and the laughter of the teeth
and the walk of a man proclaim what he is"
(19:27).

How reminiscent of Shakespeare's: "For the apparel oft proclaims the man!" Ben Sira's description of the perfect host in 32:1ff. is excellent and shows him to be a man of refined tastes and a bon vivant, in the right sense of the word. "Travel broadens a man," we say, but Ecclesiasticus expressed the same idea thousands of years ago, when after describing the value of experience, he wrote:

"Much have I seen while traveling,
and customs too many for words.
Often have I been in danger of death because of these things,
but I have been delivered by the grace of God"
(34:12,13).

(and possibly he was referring to his travels in another passage: 51:18, but it is not certain.)

The vulgar rich who flaunted their wealth before the irritated eyes of others come in for their share of his sharp criticism. Money was important, certainly, but it was not the summum bonum; its use could be defended; its abuse, never:

"Set not thy heart upon ill-gotten riches,
and say not: 'I have enough to live on,'
for they will not profit thee in the time of vengeance and of darkness" (5:1).

The pride that comes from wealth is irrational and unnatural:

"Pride was not created for men,
nor anger for the offspring of women" (10:22).

Worry and anxiety over riches destroy health and drive away sleep (31:1), and the thought of death terrifies an avaricious man. It is not to be thought, however, that wealth in itself is evil, and poverty good, or that a rich man is necessarily a bad man, and a poor man, a saint (13:30). One must not forget that he who has great possessions has an opportunity to do much good (14:11), and that proper disposal of his wealth will cause his name to be held in benediction by God and the poor, and will remove the bickering and the quarreling that are too often indulged in by disappointed heirs (14:11-17; 31:8-11).

In general, the avaricious man is despised; Ben Sira has more than one word to say about him: 10:10; 14:3-10; 31:5-7. But the other extreme of prodigality, of extravagance, likewise is to be avoided. We can express 18:33 by the modern: "Don't live beyond your means," or by quoting Micawber's financial formula of happiness and misery. It is better to live poor but independent than to dine sumptuously as a vassal to another. Extravagance leads to beggary, and a beggar's life is not life (29:28-35; 40:29-32). Expensive tastes, moreover, lead to the kindling of a fire that will burn and devour and destroy; it will make one soft and flabby, a victim of his own passions and a prey to outside foes (18:30-33; 19:1-3; 23:6; 37:30-34).

It would be surprising if we were not able to find in the writings of such a practical man-of-the-world as our author, any reference to the power which money has always had in influencing judges and other officials. It is not unheard of today, nor was it unheard of in his time, that the power of wealth has been evidenced in unjust decisions and flagrant favoritism. He spoke out boldly against that abuse, even though he might have been endangering his own freedom and even his life by so doing:

"Presents and gifts blind the eyes of judges,
and make them dumb of mouth so that they cannot reprove" (20:31).

To occupy a prominent place was dangerous to one's integrity; undue influence was not to be exercised to obtain such dangerous positions:

"Seek not from God pre-eminence,
nor from the king a seat of honor.
Seek not to be made a judge,
unless thou hast the strength to root out iniquities,
lest thou fear the person of the powerful,
and lay a stumbling-block in the way of thy integrity" (7:4,6).

We know how hearty is the laughter that greets a humorous remark made by a rich man, and how indifferently a more humorous story told by a nobody is received; we know, too, how eager people are to gloss over the faults of the powerful and how quick they are to find flaws in the character of a poor man. Ben Sira knew it too, for he says:

"When a rich man is shaken, he is supported by his friends,
but when a poor man falls, he is thrust away even by his friends.
For the rich man that has fallen there are many helpers;
he has spoken proudly, and they have justified him.
The poor man falls, and he is all the more rebuked;
he has spoken wisely, and there is no place made for him.
The rich man has spoken and all have held their peace,
and they will extol his word even to the clouds.
The poor man has spoken, and they say: 'Who is that?'
and if he stumble, they will push him down" (13:25-29).

In Hamlet we are advised: "Neither a borrower nor a lender be." Ecclesiasticus, too, writes of lending and borrowing, and while he does not oppose all lending, for that would be contrary to God's Law, he does advise caution in the matter:

"Lend not to a man who is more powerful than thyself,
and if thou hast lent, count it as lost.
Give not surety beyond thy means,
and if thou hast given surety, consider thyself as the debtor" (8:15,16).

A fool and his money are soon parted:

"A fool will have no friend,
and there will be no thanks for his good deeds.
For they who eat his bread have an evil tongue.
How many will laugh him to scorn, and how often!
For without good judgment he gives away what he ought to keep,
and in the same way, what he does not have to keep" (20:17-19).

A careful reading of chapter 29 would, I am sure, prompt both the tight-fisted to be more generous to those in need, and the improvident to be more cautious in the matter of loans.

Money in the eyes of Jesus is something that ought to be handled properly. Its abuse is sinful, its proper use beneficial. For no better purpose could it be spent than to help the poor. We are not surprised at finding this attitude in Ecclesiasticus, for if there was any tradition to which the Jewish people had been faithful, it was to that of helping the unfortunate. It is impossible to quote here all the statements which our author makes on this point, but we may summarize them in this way: alms destroy sin as water quenches fire; the Lord smiles upon the generous man and forgives him his sin; the poor who are helped will call down God's blessing upon their benefactor and will curse him who refuses aid (3:33–4:11,36; 7:36). Almsgiving is commanded by God with whom a precious treasure is laid up; it is better than a shield and a spear; it will save one from the day of evil (29:11-18). It is of God's nature to protect the helpless, the widow and the orphan; when man does that he shares, in a certain sense, in divine nature, for he here on earth fulfills the command of God who is in heaven.

Not only to the living ought one to show himself generous, but also to the dead, for we, too, are hastening toward the grave, since no man is immortal (17:26-29). It behooves us, therefore, to utilize the time that is allotted to us and to show honor and respect to the dead. "And from the dead withhold not mercy," we read in 7:37b; and again in 22:10a: "Weep over one that is dead, for his light has failed"; in 22:11a: "Weep but a little over one that is dead, for he is at rest"; and in 22:1a: "Mourning for one that is dead is for seven days." But in all this grief must we show moderation; unreasonable and uncontrolled grief helps the dead in no way and only brings harm to ourselves (38:16-24).

Sometimes we hear the expression: "From shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves, from grandfather to grandson," which means that often a family rising from poverty to wealth in one generation is reduced within a short time once more to poverty, because of the laziness and indifference of the younger people. Ecclesiasticus often insisted upon the necessity of work both to acquire wisdom and to earn a living. No easy road to learning or to wealth does he open up to his readers:

> "She (Wisdom) will bring upon him fear and dread
> and trial,
> and she will torture him with the affliction of her
> discipline,
> until she test him with her judgments,
> and can trust in his soul" (4:19).

One should put his feet into her fetters and his neck into her chains, should strive for her with all his power, and once he has possessed her, he should not let her go. "Hate not laborious work, nor farming which was created by the Most High" (7:16), for "Better is he that works and has an abundance of all things, than he that boasts and is in need of bread" (10:30).

Yet he is not so absurd as to think that a day laborer, who has no special training, should become a government official or should produce works, let us say, of philosophy. For intellectual pursuits reasonable freedom from manual labor is imperative. But all classes are necessary that civilization continue and prosper: the lawyer and philosopher, the farmer and the craftsman and the artist, the blacksmith and the potter, the architect and the judge, the administrator and the governor (38:25-39). As a matter of fact, the truly wise man is not necessarily to be found among the so-called upper classes; often among the illiterate dwells true wisdom (19:21).

Just as St. James later was to refer to the importance of the tongue, so Ben Sira in more than one verse strongly urges the proper use of speech and condemns its misuse. It ought to be the glory of a loyal Jew to speak the truth under all circumstances, to lie against no man, to conceal the faults of another, to speak out boldly for the truth, to use the great gift of speech for the confession of his sins (4:23-31), and to forgive the penitent sinner (8:6). To answer truthfully, to admit one's ignorance instead of pretending to know everything, not to say one thing and mean another, should be the resolution of all true sons of God (5:11-18). Prudence and thoughtfulness instead of rashness in speech, he advocates in 18:15-29, and for the young man he advises reserve in 7:15 and 32:9-17. If a sinner is determined to continue his wicked way, we only make matters worse by reproving him (8:13); and to tell everyone our secrets is to run the risk of having them published abroad:

> "Open not thy heart to every man,
> lest he repay thee with a bad turn and revile thee"
> (8:22).

Can we not hear Shakespeare say the same thing in his:

> "Give every man thy ear, but few thy voice"?

We are all familiar with the talkative man, and we know how we avoid him if we possibly can. Ben Sira may have had such people in mind when he wrote:

> "A talkative man is feared in his own city,
> and he that is rash in his talk is hated" (9:25).

Gossip was not unheard of in his day; he bids us therefore to disregard stories about others (19:7-17), for a word that we hear against a neighbor will not make us burst; we must not suffer in our eagerness to spread gossip, as a woman suffers in child-birth; gossip is like an arrow that sticks in the fleshy thigh; and the fool is not content until he passes it along to another. There is a time for silence, and a time to speak out; silence may be due to modesty or to ignorance; a wise man will speak only when necessary, a babbler and a fool on every possible occasion. The tongue, "a little member," as James describes it (3:5), can kindle conflagrations, can shed blood, cause enmity and wars, exile whole nations, overthrow great cities, weaken strong peoples, destroy families, bring greater suffering than the whip, bind its slaves with chains of brass (28:15-25). It is no wonder that we are advised to hedge in our ears with thorns, make bolted doors for our lips, scales for our words and a bridle for our mouth (28:28,29). Finally, the children of God should flee useless oaths, and under no circumstances should they take the name of God in vain (23:7-17)—a sin so horrible that it makes our hair stand on end (27:15).

Like all spiritual-minded philosophers, Ben Sira repeatedly stresses the importance of good companions and of exercising caution in our dealings with others: a powerful man will crush us, a rich man will sue us, a gossipy man will talk about us, and a stupid man will injure us, a rash and quick-tempered man will involve us in his ruin, a fool and a stranger will betray us (8:1-21). Our friends and guests should be only the wise and just and virtuous (9:21,22); all others will bring us harm and overthrow us in a whirlwind (9:18-20; 11:36). The true friend is ours in sickness and in poverty, the false friend only in health and prosperity. The sinner will smear us with his sin, as he that touches pitch is defiled by it (13:1).

It would be interesting to compare the views of Ecclesiasticus on friendship with those expressed by the pagan Cicero in his well-known *De Amicitia.* The former has much to say on the subject from the practical viewpoint, just in what true friendship consists, the necessity of loyalty to our friends, the wisdom of showing reserve to all until they are able to prove their sincerity by deed. How reminiscent of Shakespeare's:

> "Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar;
> Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
> Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel"

is Ben Sira's:

> "Let those who are at peace with thee be many,
> but one in a thousand be thy counsellor.
> If thou makest a friend, make him only after a test,
> and be not too ready to trust him" (6:6,7).
> "If a friend remains steadfast, he will be to thee as thy other self,
> and toward the members of thy household he will act with confidence" (6:11).
> "Nor lower thyself to the mob" (7:7b).

A faithful friend is a strong protection, and more precious than treasures of gold, for true friendship is founded in the fear of God (6:5-17). A true friend never betrays us; we must never betray him (7:20). We console him in his tears and walk with him in his grief; we visit him when ill and bury him peacefully in death (7:37-39). He is dear to us, like old wine, and the new friend, like new wine, is not his equal (9:14,15). A true friend seeks not his own, but is loyal in time of adversity; and when he, in turn, is in suffering, we take our stand by his side (22:28, 29). His thoughts are our thoughts, his secrets ours, both are to be kept in the silence of our heart (27:17-24). But the false friend is the one who is with us in prosperity but flees in time of adversity, who seeks only what profits himself and is a friend merely for the sake of his stomach. Him we are never to trust and always to avoid, for he is a friend to himself alone(37:1-11).

An unreasonable optimist, the Pollyanna type of sage, Ben Sira was not. He understood life and faced its problems squarely. Life was hard and grievous, an iron law of nature from the moment of man's birth; care and anxiety come to all (40:1-7). But if one is content, he goes far towards overcoming his troubles:

> "The life of a laborer that has enough for himself is sweet" (40:18a).

Joy is the cure for gloom and adds to length of life; while sadness and envy and anger bring on premature sickness and death; a smile and a confidence which come from the knowledge that justice and fidelity will conquer (40:12) give pleasure to God and happiness to man.

How modern are Ben Sira's views on certain problems that even in our own day cause thoughtful men to worry over the future of states and the stability of civilization. When a war veteran is abandoned by his government to eke out a pauper's existence, when national appreciation of intellectual pursuits is blunted, when a virtuous man gives up the fight against sin, when business men seek no goal save that of personal gain, he and all right-thinking men are grieved and angered that such should be the case (26:25-28). He urges us to develop a saving sense of shame against perjury, against lèse majesté, against betrayal of public trust, against unfair dealing and immorality (41:21-28). He strongly recommends honesty in business, and impartial judgment of others. Perhaps he was acquainted with many who had been cheated in business transactions because of their trust in others, for he gives the very practical advice which can be summed up by the modern: "Keep everything under lock and key," and "Put it in writing" (42:5-7).

From the foregoing we can see that in the mind of Ben Sira there was only one real evil in the world, and that evil is sin. Every other evil is of less importance and can be borne with, but sin, horrible in its origin, in its nature and in its effects, must be avoided at all costs (21:1-11). No wonder he tells us:

"In all thy actions, remember thy end,
    and thou shalt never sin" (7:40).

It goes without saying of course that he believed, as did all his coreligionists, that man was free and could either choose or flee sin. Explicitly and implicitly he affirms the truth of the doctrine of free will:

"Say not: 'It is because of God that she is not with me,'
    and those things which he hates, do not.
Say not: 'He has led me astray,'
    for he has no need of wicked men.
The LORD hates every abominable error,
    and it will not be loved by those who fear him.

God created man in the beginning,
and left him in the power of his own counsel.
He gave him moreover his commandment and precepts.
If thou wish to keep the commandments,
and always to show a faith that is pleasing, they will preserve thee.
He has set before thee water and fire;
stretch forth thy hand to that which thou dost choose.
Before a man are life and death, good and evil;
whichever he will choose will be given to him.
For the wisdom of the LORD is great,
he is strong in power and he beholds all men unceasingly.
The eyes of God are upon those who fear him,
and he knows every deed of man.
He has commanded no man to act wickedly,
and he has given no man permission to sin.
For he does not desire a multitude of unfaithful and unprofitable children" (15:11-22).

Often he refers to sin merely in a general way; at other times he describes in detail its various kinds. Besides those already mentioned, Ben Sira refers to presumption (5:4-9), pride (6:2-4; 10:6-22) [to which he opposes the beautiful virtue of humility: "The prayer of one that humbles himself shall pierce the clouds" (35:21a)], ambition 7:4-6), injustice (5:10; 7:1-3), impurity (9:3-13; 23:21-38; 41:27; 42:12-14), hypocrisy (19:23-25), laziness (22:1,2,7-9), drunkenness (19:1), revenge (28:1-9); belief in dreams (34:1-8). To sum up, we have in Ecclesiasticus a long list of sins to which man at some time or other yielded, and after the mention of each one we seem to hear the author pray: "O Lord, deliver us."

And yet, even if we should fall, Ben Sira does not close the door of forgiveness upon us, for he tells us that, if God is just, He is also merciful:

"For mercy and wrath are with him;
he is mighty in forgiving and in pouring out wrath" (16:12).
"How great is the mercy of the LORD,
and his forgiveness to those who turn to him!" (17:28).

"Son, hast thou sinned? Do so no more,
and regarding thy past sins, pray that they may be forgiven thee" (21:1).

"Beautiful is the mercy of the LORD in the time of tribulation,
like rain clouds in time of drought" (35:26).

Turning his attention to the body politic, Ben Sira would have the rulers exercise their authority according to the principles of justice, and their subjects see in the rulers God's representatives here on earth, whose example and decisions would in a sense share in the divine (9:24–10:5,8). Bribery, all too common, harms not only the victim but even the officials involved and the cause of justice everywhere, and it does tremendous damage to the State and Society. The citizen should not be critical of officials who are trying to do their best, for "He judges according to what is just" (8:17). If all work and pray together, civilization and religion will be saved (38:39).

We do not know exactly to what profession our commentator belonged. But one thing we do know, that he had high regard and even affection for the medical profession. It is remarkable how long and detailed his description is of the doctor, whom he looks upon not only as a skilled man, in the ordinary sense of the word, but even as an agent of God whose secrets he draws from nature and applies to suffering humanity. The physician is worthy of honor, for he is a true friend in need, and is, as it were, a direct creation of God; noble in bearing and wisdom, he is the equal of kings and stands high in the estimation of his fellowmen; he has searched out the healing herbs and ointments that God had hidden in nature and with them he brings comfort to all the earth (38:1-8).

All human effort to allay suffering, however, would be in vain if God were ignored. Both patient and physician must turn to Him in prayer, and from this combination of divine help and human skill health of soul and body is restored (38:9-15). Ben Sira would find most strange and illogical the attitude of some members of the medical profession today, who, in restoring by means of nature the health intended by nature, openly boast of disregarding the Lord, the God of nature. Although I dare say that in his time, too, there were some doctors, certainly among the pagans and perhaps even among his countrymen, who were carried away by pride in their own skill from the source of all healing, God.

Despite his admiration for physicians, Ecclesiasticus by advocating the simple life did all he could to postpone the day when it would be necessary for his readers to call for medical assistance. Sadness brings an early death, as do envy and anger, worry and avarice (30:25–31:2).

> "Use what is set before thee, like a temperate man,
> lest thou be despised for eating so much.
> Be the first to stop, for manner's sake,
> and be not greedy, lest thou give offense.
> And if thou art seated with many,
> be not the first of them to reach out thy hand,
> and be not the first to ask for drink.
> How sufficient is a little wine for a well-bred man!
> and during thy sleep thou wilt not be distressed by it,
> and thou wilt feel no pain.
> Sleeplessness, biliousness and colic are the lot of the intemperate man,
> but the temperate man enjoys sound sleep;
> he will sleep until morning, and his spirit will rejoice within him.
> And if thou hast been obliged to eat much,
> rise in the middle of the dinner, vomit, and it will relieve thee,
> and thou wilt not bring sickness upon thy body.
> Listen to me, my son, and despise me not,
> and in the end thou shalt find my words true.
> In all thy work be active,
> and no sickness will overtake thee" (31:19-27).

Rich living may be pleasant for a time, but before long there will be no appetite for dainties or for heavy wines, while the poor man making a feast upon simple fare is better off than a rich invalid, who couldn't, if he would, eat his food (30:14-21).

Naturally, I might say supernaturally, this saintly author reserved special place of honor and dignity for God's priests. To them as the ministers of the Lord and leaders of the people were due praise and reverence, and theirs was the right to the best portions of the sacrifices and to the first fruits of the offerings:

"With all thy soul fear God,
and reverence his priests.
With all thy strength, love him who made thee,
and forsake not his ministers.
Honor God with all thy soul,
and give honor to priests,
and purify thyself with shoulders.
Give them their portion, as it is commanded thee,
of the first fruits and of the victims of expiation,
and for thy negligences purify thyself
with a few offerings.
Offer to the LORD thy gift of shoulders,
and the sacrifice of sanctification and the first fruits
of holy things" (7:31-35).

Long before, the priesthood had been established, with Aaron as the first highpriest, and for centuries the priests had served in the temple, lending majesty to those ceremonies which delighted the heart of Ecclesiasticus, and to which he refers so beautifully: 45:7-30; 47:11,12; 50:6-23.

But, as did the prophets before him, Ben Sira warns that ceremonies, however beautiful and magnificent, are useless and worse than useless if they are not supported by practical faith and right living (35:1-26). It was not by chance that immediately after his advice to make an offering to the Lord in 7:35 he quickly turned to the necessity of helping the poor and unfortunate (7:36-39). In another place he reminds us of Isaias and Jeremias, when he speaks out against merely external sacrifice:

"The offering of him that sacrifices ill-gotten goods is
unclean,
and the mockeries of the unjust are not acceptable.
The LORD is only for those who keep themselves in the
way of truth and justice.
The Most High approves not the gifts of the wicked,
nor has he regard for the offerings of the wicked,
nor will he be appeased for sins by the multitude of
their sacrifices.
He that offers a sacrifice from the goods of the poor
is like the one who sacrifices a son in the presence
of his father" (34:21-24).

When the Book of Ecclesiasticus was being written (at least, according to the more common opinion) Palestine was suffering from wars, invasions and persecutions. Israel's enemies from the North were determined to crush the independence of the Jewish people and to stamp out every trace of the true religion. It is only to be expected then that in Ecclesiasticus there should be found a patriotic fervor which can come only from the certainty that a nation's cause is God's cause. Israel's enemies are God's enemies, and as such must be cursed (50:27,28). In chapter 17, after having sketched the history of mankind from the moment of creation, the author says that over every nation God placed a ruler, but that Israel was clearly made the portion of the Lord (17:14,15). The beautiful prayer in 36:1-19 (most of which is read in Lauds I of the Saturday Office) is really an appeal to God on behalf of Israel, that He would protect His people and crush their enemies, and that His Servant, Israel, might be His agent to draw the whole world to His feet in worship and love. The tribes of Jacob, Israel, God's first-born, Jerusalem, the Holy City where God dwells, Sion, the center of His people, all different names for God's chosen nation, may He bless and guide them into the way of justice and peace!

As every land has its heroes and its Hall of Fame, so Israel can boast of those who are its glory; men of renown were they, and of great power, gifted with wisdom and showing forth the dignity of prophets (44–50).

"Their bodies are buried in peace,
and their name lives unto generation and generation" (44:14).

For their sake

"May he grant us joy of heart,
and that there be peace in our days, in Israel through eternal days" (50:25).

And to this prayer for peace may our own twentieth-century world, in a spirit of faith and sincerity, add its weak and suppliant voice. And when peace is granted, men of all nations should join gladly in the hymn of praise with which some old manuscripts bring the long book of Ecclesiasticus to a close:

"Blessed be the name of the LORD
from now and forever more."

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Ps. 2:9 IN THE LIGHT OF AN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CEREMONY

When Professor Dr. Heinrich Schäfer and Kurt Sethe were conjointly travelling in Egypt in the interest of oriental studies, in 1925, an antiquity dealer in Luxor offered Dr. Schäfer a box containing more than 200 potsherds; the dealer declared that the sherds were from a tomb in western Thebes. Perceiving writing on many of the sherds that he examined in a cursory manner, Dr. Schäfer thought they were ostraca; and since the writing was of the ancient hieratic type, he conjectured that he had made a valuable find; he therefore purchased the whole box.[1]

When, upon the return of the two savants to Germany, all the sherds were subjected to a more thorough examination, it became apparent that Dr. Schäfer's acquisition was of even greater importance than he had at first surmised; it became evident that the sherds were not, indeed, *ostraca,* that is pieces of broken pottery used as writing material instead of the more costly papyrus, but that they were fragments of pottery the surfaces of which were inscribed with texts before the vessels were broken. These sherds, having been fitted together according to their shape, formed several vessels, most of which are sufficiently complete to reveal their original shape and size. Some, saucer-like, have a diameter of 14.5 cm or more, a thickness of 6 to 10 mm, and an elevation of 3 cm; others are deeper, bowl-like, in fact, fully half a sphere.

Both script, which is old hieratic, and language point to the beginning of the Middle Empire, to about the transition from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Dynasty, in all likelihood to Amenemhet, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty.

The part of the surface of these vessels used for writing depends largely upon their shape, hence varies greatly. But it is an invariable rule that on each vessel the writing begins on the outside surface; only when the outside surface is not large enough to contain the whole text—in some cases several formulas were to be inscribed—is this continued on the inside surface. For that matter, this was the only procedure practicable in the case of the deep and narrow bowls and was the more convenient even in the less curved, saucer-like bowls. As a rule, the writing occupies the center strip of appropriate width starting from the edge to the left, crossing the center, and ending at the edge to the right. In some cases the writing is arranged in panels; and again, in other cases, the writing starts in the center of the bottom and runs in a spiral around and around till it reaches the edge.

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[1] *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker u. Dinge auf Altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des mittleren Reiches, nach den Originalen im Berliner Museum herausgegeben u. erklärt von Kurt Sethe.* (Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wissensch., Phil. Hist. Klasse. No. 5) Berlin, 1926.

The texts consist of uniformly constructed sentences that, with change only of names of persons, places, and things, recur in a stereotyped fashion and in a set order time and again.

As to contents, most of these texts are a sort of proscription or execration list: the representatives of the four races, as the Egyptians distinguished them, namely of the Africans, the Asiatics, the Libyans, and the Egyptians, in so far as all these were thought to be hostile to the civil power at that time in control of the Nile Valley, are proscribed. The wish for their destruction is expressed in terms such as "Let there die...." Not only hostile persons, such as "the rulers of Kash (enemy), his confidants who are with him, his heroes, couriers, his allies" etc., but also things are thus by imprecation doomed to destruction. This intention to destroy hostile elements, implied in the texts, found still more definite expression and significance in the circumstances under which these lists of proscription were proclaimed, be it that this was done in a sacred place, such as a temple, or at a sacred occasion, such as a ceremonious funeral or an accession to the throne, or at some formal state function at which the vessels thus inscribed with the names of the hostile rulers, of rebellious subjects, or of harmful things were ceremoniously dashed to the ground and broken with a stick or pounder in order to give symbolic expression to the intention of destroying the objects of fear or hatred.

Sethe finds just such a symbolic indication of destruction referred to in an ancient funeral ritual of a king. In the hieroglyphic Pyramid texts there is recorded one religious formula to be pronounced "at the breaking of the red jars." The hieroglyphic sign which stands for these "red jars" indicates earthen jars of exactly the type obtained by properly assembling the potsherds under consideration; moreover, the whole action of "the breaking of the red jars" is in at least one of these Pyramid texts expressed by means of a figure of a man who seems to be beating with a pestle upon a shallow earthen jar. The sherds found at Luxor seem to have been broken in this very manner.

In the case of this Pyramid text from the *Book of the Dead* the ceremony of "the breaking of the red jars" was performed for a deceased king, that the evil Set should not be able to harm him in the regions of the dead. Likewise did the breaking of the Luxor bowls have an appropriate meaning only on the supposition that the ceremony was performed in behalf of a king; else why these imprecations against foreign hostile rulers and their people and against domestic rebels "in all this land"?

Sethe's treatise has met with the approval of orientalists. In our own country W. F. Albright[2] has pointed to the enriching of our knowledge of rulers and places in Palestine and Syria in patriarchal times through Sethe's work. He has pointed also to research along similar lines by M. G. Posener, who in Brussels (1940) examined a collection of several hundred crudely fashioned figurines in clay, some entire, some in pieces, representing captives, on which execratory texts similar to those on the vessels examined by Sethe are inscribed. But it does not seem to have occurred to these authors to investigate into the geographical extent of this custom of dooming one's enemies to destruction by breaking such jars or figurines representing them.

In this connection I should like to call attention to a much older Sumerian inscription.[3] This inscription refers to the ceremonial ridding of various tracts of land of locust and caterpillar plagues. One section, containing the ridding of the field from caterpillars, reads: "Five *bur* of land belonging to Udusag; the man broke a jar, he stood, he cut open a sacrifice, a word of cursing he repeated, it went out . . . verily against the caterpillars." Does "the man broke a jar" in this Sumerian inscription have the same significance as the breaking of the jar, or of the figurine, in Egypt and does "a word of cursing he *repeated*" imply that this "word of cursing" was also inscribed on the jar? Assyriologists may perhaps have some other interpretation for the breaking of the jar in this Sumerian text, but, barring this, a like significance seems to underlie both the Sumerian and the Egyptian actions.

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[2] *New Egyptian Data on Palestine in the Patriarchal Age* (*Bulletin of the Am. Schools of Oriental Research,* Feb. 1941, pp. 16-21).

[3] Translated by Prof. G. A. Barton, Vol. IX, University of Pa. publications of the Babylonian section. I quote from a reprint of Barton's translation in *The Sacred Books and Early Lit. of the East. 1917,* Vol. I, p. 35.

From Psalm 2:9, it would seem—and to point to this is the purpose of these lines—that this practice was known also to the Psalmist; not as though the custom itself of ceremoniously breaking such jars necessarily prevailed in Palestine, but at least that the knowledge of so expressive a practice influenced the wording of this verse, "Thou shalt break (Hebrew) them with a rod of iron, and shalt shatter them as a potter's vessel."

A consideration of dramatic Psalm 2 would seem to justify this statement. This Psalm celebrates the divine proclamation of the kingship of Christ over all the world: The nations and their rulers have rebelled against Yahweh and against His Anointed (the Christ, vv. 1-3); Yahweh, the eternal ruler in heaven, anthropomorphically represented as both amused and incensed at their puny yet blasphemous machinations, in His outraged majesty proceeds against them (vv. 4-5); yet He does not in person proceed against them, but through the Anointed, His Son (cf. Jn. 5:22-27)—thus enhancing the latter's authority—who asserts His kingship and proclaims the decree of His Heavenly Father constituting Him king over all and empowering Him to destroy His enemies: . . . "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, and shalt shatter them as a potter's vessel" (vv. 4-9); that these enemies might escape the impending catastrophe, there is given them a final call of grace that they submit to Christ's kingship and be happy under His rule (vv. 10-13).

We can readily see how the oriental custom of declaring the intention of destroying one's enemies, in particular of the king proclaiming his intention of crushing the enemies of the realm by means of a ceremonious breaking and pounding to small pieces, fits into the picture of this Psalm. It would even seem as though the "iron rod" stood for the club or crusher with which the vessels are broken, even as in the Egyptian and Sumerian pictographs the breaking of the jars is expressed with a pestle over a jar.

Yet a point of difference is to be noted as existing between the shattering of the potter's vessel as spoken of in Psalm 2 on the one hand and the breaking of the jars in the Egyptian and Sumerian texts on the other hand. In these latter texts the ceremony of pronouncing the imprecations and of crushing the jars inscribed with them was thought actually to bring about on one's enemies or on the hostile elements what the words and action signified, in other words, it was superstition and even attempt at magic, as Sethe himself points out, in connection with the Egyptian ceremony and as appears also from the Sumerian inscription; whereas this Scripture text, as is evident from its wording, refers to this ceremony merely as a significant, not as an efficient, symbolic action.

Still another thought suggests itself. Was St. Paul's phrase, *vasa irae* (Rom. 9:22), influenced by this ancient custom? I should not like to make a positive assertion, yet in view of the similarity of thought implied and of the tenacity of oriental customs to live on for ages, at least in figures of speech, I propose the question as not irrelevant.

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WAS SAINT PAUL AN INVALID?

It is possible that St. Luke would have left to the ages a very precise and satisfying description of St. Paul and would have told the world definitely that St. Paul did or did not suffer from some physical or nervous ailment, had he known beforehand the disputes which would in the course of time arise over these very questions. It is not at all certain, however, that St. Luke would have done so, for we have no description even of our Lord or His Blessed Mother from those earliest times, i.e., from the generation immediately following Christ and the Apostles; in other words we have no description left us by the people who knew Christ and the Apostles face to face.

There remained a vivid memory of St. Paul in Christian tradition, however, as appears from the early pictures and mosaics and from the *Acta Pauli et Theclae.* According to all the matter available in tradition St. Paul was of short stature, he had an aquiline nose, was very well-proportioned, and had a high and noble forehead and dark, piercing eyes.[1]

There is nothing in this account, take it for what it is worth, which would favor an opinion that St. Paul had some very apparent physical deformity which would disgust people and impede his work for the spread of the kingdom of God. The fact is, all the evidence points the other way. As far as we can conjecture from the accounts in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul himself, it appears that the great Apostle's health was naturally very good. We are told that St. Paul made many long journeys, very often on foot, and this for over thirty years. His constitution must have been extraordinarily robust. Otherwise it is difficult to conceive how he could have continued these labors without interruption all during this long period.

Nevertheless, in St. Paul's Epistles there are some passages which form the basis for an opinion that St. Paul labored under great difficulties, that he suffered from continual ill-health.

Some of the Passages

We quote here the chief passages which are used for or against the different opinions. The quotations are taken, by the way, from the new text of the New Testament prepared by the revisers of the Catholic Biblical Association of America. The English texts are a vast improvement over the Douay-Challoner.

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[1] *Acta Pauli et Theclae,* quoted in Simon-Prado *Praelectiones Biblicae,* Vol. II, 1938, p. 105.

1. In the second Epistle to the Corinthians St. Paul, in comparing the body to a fragile vessel, says, "But we carry this treasure in vessels of clay, to show that the abundance of the power is God's and not ours" (4:7).

2. In chapter the fifth of the same Epistle St. Paul compares the body to a tent that will last only for a short time. "For we who are in this tent sigh under our burdens" (5:4).

3. St. Paul seems to speak, in his letter to the Galatians, of an infirmity to which he was very often subject and which he seems to say was accompanied by an external offensive sign which could easily be repulsive to the converts: "And you know that on account of a physical infirmity I preached the Gospel to you formerly; and though I was a trial to you in my flesh, you did not reject or despise me; but you received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus" (Gal. 4:13-14).

4. The most celebrated and most disputed text is in the second Epistle to the Corinthians where St. Paul, after enumerating his extraordinary gifts, adds seemingly that something chronic, a "thorn for the flesh," was with him. "And lest the greatness of the revelations should puff me up, there was given me a thorn for the flesh, a messenger of Satan, to buffet me" (2 Cor. 12:7).

5. Finally, St. Paul in other texts—e.g., 1 Cor. 2:3; 4:10; 2 Cor. 1:4-6,8-9; 2:4; 4:7-11; etc.—often speaks of his "weakness of the flesh," of his many "infirmities."

ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

Now it seems to us, an accurate analysis of the texts referring to infirmities or weaknesses, shows that:

1. In those texts in which St. Paul speaks of the infirmity or infirmities of the flesh, he means that complexity of deficiencies in the physical and moral orders under which human nature labors and which make the individual human nature such a weak thing in comparison with God and divine things.

This is almost certainly the meaning of "infirmities" in 2 Cor. 12:9, for he explains in the following verse (12:10). Here is the whole passage: "Gladly therefore I will glory in my infirmities, that the strength of God may dwell in me. Wherefore I am satisfied, for Christ's sake, with infirmities, with insults, with hardships, with persecutions, with distresses. For when I am weak, then I am strong." Note that the Greek word for "infirmities" (*ἀσθένειαι*) is the same in both verses.

2. When St. Paul calls the body a weak vessel, he is not speaking of any special sickness or infirmity but of the thorough unfitness, naturally speaking, of the body as an instrument for the stupendous work of the Gospel. And surely where he speaks of the body as a tent or tabernacle that lasts for only a short time, he is speaking of the shortness of life compared to eternity. A mere glace at the context of 2 Cor. 5:4 will convince any reader of this.

Two Special Texts

The two texts that seem to militate against interpreting St. Paul's weakness or infirmity, whatever it was, to mean the extraordinary cares, troubles, vexations, and persecutions which were the Apostle's lot are Gal. 4:13 and 2 Cor. 12:7. However, this much is true. Whatever these two texts mean, their interpretation does not affect the meaning of all the other texts where St. Paul speaks about his "infirmity of the flesh," or his "infirmities."

In Gal. 4:15 St. Paul says: "For I bear you witness that, if possible, you would have plucked out your very eyes and given them to me." Arguing from this text, some have proposed the opinion that St. Paul had some eye trouble so acute that he could not distinguish persons and things even at short distances.[2] However this opinion is not probable. There is no proof at all in the Acts of the Apostles or in any of St. Paul's Epistles that St. Paul had any eye trouble and there are many proofs against this opinion. The one other text adduced to prove the opinion, (Act 23:2), is no proof. There it is said that St. Paul could not distinguish the High Priest, though in the same hall with him, The interpretation of this text is clearly that St. Paul being small, could not see the High Priest and therefore did not know who it was that had spoken.

The statement that the Galatians were ready to pluck out their eyes is not made to clarify what St. Paul means by his "infirmity" in Gal. 4:13. Most probably it is a proverbial or hyperbolic statement expressing their love of him when he preached to them the first time. Galatians 4:15 therefore does not explain Gal. 4:13.

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[2] Weizsaecker and others quoted by L. Murillo, S.J., *Paulus et Pauli Scripta-Prima Pars, Paulus.* Rome, 1926; p. 100, footnote 1.

Does Gal. 4:13 mean some other physical defect or disease that was with St. Paul all during his life, as many other think?[3]

We think not, because a constant malaria or epilepsy would be repellent to others besides the Galatians and there is no indication in any other of St. Paul's Epistles that he was repellent to his converts. If Gal. 4:13 really means some physical defect or sickness that was repellent, then it was a special single case noticed only in Galatia.

Murillo thinks that the "infirmity" (Gal. 4:13) "because of which," or "during which" (δια) St. Paul labored in Galatia, was a defect of speech, perhaps a stutter or a lisp or a rudeness of speech which would not commend him at the first hearing.[4]

Murillo further states that this defect was perpetual and is referred to by St. Paul in other passages where he speaks of his weakness or infirmity, e.g., 1 Cor. 2:3-4; 2 Cor. 10:9-10; 11:6.

If in other passages similar to the three in the two letters to the Corinthians, St. Paul, in speaking of his weakness of words, is referring to the same thing to which he refers in Gal. 4:13 when he says that it was "because of an infirmity" or "during an infirmity" he labored among the Galatians, then this opinion of Murillo's could satisfy all the texts, Gal. 4:13 included, so far examined.

Our opinion, however, is that Gal. 4:13 is to be taken by itself and that it means that St. Paul was affected by some real physical illness at the time he first labored among the Galatians. But this affliction was only temporary.

Only 2 Cor. 12:7-9 remains to be examined. If, as many think, —Murillo included[5]—this text is taken to mean that St. Paul suffered from the motions of concupiscence and that this is what he means by the "thorn for the flesh" and the "messenger of Satan," then this text too (2 Cor. 12:7-9) must be taken by itself and this text must be the only mention of it in St. Paul's writings. Why would the Apostle be always boasting, as it were, of such a thing, as he would be, were this the meaning of his "infirmity" or "infirmities" which he so often speaks of?

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[3] Cornely, Le Camus, Toussaint, Prat, etc., as quoted by Simon-Prado, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[4] Murillo, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[5] Murillo, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Murillo quotes Estius, A. Lapide, St. Augustine, Natalis Alexander, Bisping, Drach, Belser. Cf. also Simon-Prado, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

For the same reason, we think that even here in 2 Cor. 12:7-9 the "thorn for the flesh" cannot be the stirrings of concupiscence. Surely, although the Apostle would be humbling himself by mentioning this, he would also, and rather, be giving his enemies an occasion for greater abuse and slander, and he surely wished to avoid this. The "thorn for the flesh" evidently means something that began at the time the special revelations were given St. Paul. It was given to keep the Apostle in mind of that fact that he was still human and that the marvellous results of his work (after the first preaching?) were due to God, not to him. But it was not a thing of such intimate character, almost matter of confession and conscience, as motions of concupiscence. It would do St. Paul absolutely no good to boast of this or to confess it openly, and it would have done harm.

CONCLUSIONS

The points that seem to strike us after an examination of these texts are the following.

1. St. Paul suffered from no nervous disorder, which in any way affected his mind. His was a magnificent mind, subtle, penetrating, analytic, synthetic, practical, above all practical. His prudence cries out to one from everything he did and said.

2. St. Paul had no serious physical defect to start out with. His strenuous life, the untold hardships he suffered, the many persecutions and punishments he sustained while working continually, all tell plainly the story of a man with an exceptionally robust constitution.

3. If all the texts—Gal. 4:13 and 2 Cor. 12:7-9 included—which speak of his "infirmities" or his "weakness" are taken to refer to the same thing, then St. Paul means the trials, tribulations, sufferings, and punishments that were his lot during the years and which may have brought on a permanent physical pain towards the end.

4. If Gal. 4:13 and 2 Cor. 12:7-9 are to be taken by themselves then a stutter or a halt or impediment in speech seems to us about the best interpretation possible.

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EXPOSITION OF THE MISSAL EPISTLES FROM ROMANS

VIII

The following passage from Romans is the epistle for the feast of St. Ignatius, Martyr, February 1:

8, 35 Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall
tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or hunger, or
36 nakedness, or danger, or the sword? Even as it is
written,
"For thy sake we are put to death all the day long.
We are regarded as sheep for the slaughter."
37 But in all these things we overcome because of him who
38 has loved us. For I am sure that neither death, nor
life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present,
39 nor things to come, nor powers, | nor height, nor depth,
nor any other creature will be able to separate us from
the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

The passage, 8:31-39, of which the foregoing epistle forms the latter part, is the conclusion of St. Paul's treatise on justification. It is, as Lagrange remarks, a hymn of confidence, love, and thanksgiving, that gushes forth from the depths of the Apostle's soul like hot lava. St. Paul has worked up to a splendid climax. Beginning with humanity's plight, bereft of divine grace and sunk to the lowest depths of hopeless misery, he describes God's great and gratuitous love in sending a Redeemer to lift all mankind, who will to be lifted, to the sublime heights of divine sonship, where they become heirs to all the riches of our eternal Father's heavenly kingdom. Nearing the climax, he marshals all the reasons for the certainty of the Christian's hope: the justified soul has an inner conviction which is corroborated by the Holy Spirit's testimony; all creation's yearning for better things to come is evidence that there shall be a better world; the Holy Spirit, with irresistable pleading, prays for the faithful soul; and finally God's eternal designs, which must most surely be realized, make certain the final salvation of the predestined.

Having thus marshaled in impressive array all these glorious facts, St. Paul cannot contain himself; he bursts forth in triumphant tones into this rythmic hymn of praise and thanksgiving, of assured hope and unshakable confidence. The thought of the first part of this hymn is that since God has given us His own Son, the most precious gift possible, He cannot refuse us the lesser gifts necessary for us to reach our eternal destiny, and since He declares us just and His own well beloved Son intercedes for us, no accusation or plea against us from any other source can be of any possible avail. Then follows our passage:

Who shall seperate us from the love of Christ?

The first question that arises in connection with this interrogation is whether *the love of Christ* is our love for Him or His love for us. The consensus of modern opinion is that it is Christ's love for us, and this is borne out by the words below: "In all these things we overcome because of him who has loved us," and by the fact that all through this passage the Apostle has been listing the various manifestations of the divine love for us.

Absolutely nothing can remove us from the beneficent sphere of our Saviour's inexhaustible love for us. No matter where we may be or what perilous conditions may threaten us, His love is still with us; it encompasses us and safeguards us from all evil. These trials could scarcely motivate our Lord's abandoning us; they rather cry aloud for His ever more vigilant and solicitous care, but they might easily lead us to doubt His loving solicitude for us. Quite naturally trials and persecutions suggest to us that God has abandoned us to our enemies, but such is not the case. The hardships are, St. Paul insists as does our Lord, but opportunities of showing our love for God, and that we shall make good use of these opportunities is made certain by the encompassing protection of God's fond love.

Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or the sword?

After the pronoun *who* we expect a list of human or angelic beings that might threaten to undermine our Saviour's love for us, or at least suggest by their harsh treatment of us that our Savior has withdrawn His love from us. But St. Paul proceeds to enumerate a series of inanimate trouble-makers. Either he personifies them, or is thinking of the personal agents who inflict these hardships on us.

Tribulation is that set of external circumstances which are extremely trying, and *distress* is the internal state of soul, fear, sorrow or mental anguish, resulting from the harassing situation without. *Persecution* is the common cause of both. The persecuting tyrant brings about the external circumstances which constitute the tribulation and give rise to the distress of soul. *Hunger* and *nakedness*, results of poverty, quite frequently are occasioned by persecution. *Danger* ever threatens the victims of persecution, and not infrequently reaches the extreme limit and becomes a menace to life. Capital punishment, or *the sword*, hangs over the head of those who are the objects of the tyrant's rage.

The evils here enumerated are precisely those to which St. Paul, because of his devotion to Christianity, had repeatedly been exposed, and which he lists in several passages of his epistles, but nowhere more fully than in 1 Cor. 11:23-27: "In many more labors, in prisons more frequently, in lashes above measure, often exposed to death... in perils from floods, in perils from robbers, in perils from my own nation, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren; in labors and hardships, in many sleepless nights, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."

The Apostle is speaking from personal experience as well as from the assurance of faith. He had gone through the most prolonged and varied tribulations, but in them all he never lost his strong confidence in the ever present love and all powerful assistance of God to sustain and strengthen him so that he could stand fast and unshaken in the midst of overwhelming calamities. He even gloried and rejoiced in his troubles, as he frequently writes. For example: "I overflow with joy in all my tribulations" (2 Cor. 7:4); "We exult in tribulations also, knowing that tribulation works out endurance, and endurance tried virtue, and tried virtue hope" (Rom. 5:3).

Origen has a beautiful comment on this verse:

> If tribulation should come, we shall say to God. "In tribulation thou has set me at large" (Ps. 4:2). If we are, as a result of bodily necessities, straitened by the narrow confines of the world, we shall seek the boundless expanse of God's knowledge and wisdom, in which the world cannot restrict us. I shall go to the vast fields of the divine Scriptures. I shall seek the spiritual understanding of God's word, and no limits will there hamper me .... If I suffer persecution, and confess my Christ before men, I am certain that He will confess me before His Father in heaven. If hunger should beset me, it cannot disturb me, for I have the bread of life that comes down from heaven and refreshes hungry souls. Never can this bread fail me, for it is perfect and

eternal. Nakedness does not embarrass me, for I have been clothed with the Lord Jesus Christ, and I yearn "to be clothed over with that dwelling of ours which is from heaven." "This corruptible body must put on incorruption and this mortal body must put on immortality." I shall fear no danger, for the "Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life, whom shall I dread?" Earthly sword can never terrify me, for I hold the more powerful sword of the Spirit which is the word of God, and I have the word of God which "is living and efficient and keener than any two-edged sword."

These words of the Apostles and Origen's comment on them are especially timely now when so many dangers threaten us, and so many of our brothers in the war-stricken lands are beset by all manner of tribulation and distress.

In the calamities which had befallen him and which he probably saw in prospect for the followers of Christ in general, St. Paul sees the re-enactment of what took place centuries before when the faithful Israelites had much to suffer because of their fidelity to God, as described by the Psalmist in Ps. 43:22:

For thy sake we are put to death all the day long,
We are regarded as sheep for the slaughter.

The exact point in history which the Psalmist describes is uncertain. It may be the fierce and bloody persecution waged by Antiochus Epiphanes during the Maccabean period, or some earlier outburst of hate against the faithful Israelites. In the Psalm it is God, for whose sake this ill treatment is borne; in St. Paul's application Christ is the one for whose sake this persecution is endured. But as St. John Chrysostom remarks: "It is indifferent to Paul whether he mentions the name of Christ or of God." To the Apostle they are one and the same. The Christians were not actually being put to death when St. Paul wrote, but such was the desire and intention of their enemies, and the Christians on their part were willing to undergo death whenever loyalty to their blessed Master required it. As St. John Chrysostom again remarks: "It is possible in one day to die not once or twice, but many times over; for he who is always ready for this, over and over again receives the full reward." St. Paul, when he wrote these lines, no doubt saw the gathering storm which less than a decade later would burst forth in all its fury against the followers of Jesus Christ. Then they would actually be as sheep in the shambles.

In this citation we have merely an accommodation of an Old Testament passage to New Testament conditions. As Calmet remarks: "There are in the Apostle many citations of this sort, which are simple allusions or applications of passages of Scripture to things which he treats. Some of these passages serve rather as ornaments than as proofs."

But in all these things we overcome because of him who has loved us.

The foregoing translation, which follows the Vulgate, does not do justice to the original. Its literal rendition gives: *We more than overcome through him who has loved us.* By the aid of Christ's grace, we are so strengthened that we not only overcome the actual dangers, trials, and temptations which confront us, but, if God were to permit even more severe tribulations to beset us, we would still have adequate strength from His grace to withstand them. The Vulgate's *propter eum* suggests that it is *for the sake of Christ* that we so courageously endure persecution, but the correct Greek reading indicates that it is *through* Him, by His aid and his personal action on us and in us that we gain the victory. The reason why this lavish aid is ever held out to us is the great love of Christ for us. The aorist *has loved us* seems to point to the specific act of sacrificial love exhibited on our behalf by our Lord in His death on the cross.

For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature will be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Thus far the Apostle has mentioned the natural dangers to which all the faithful are more or less exposed in this life. Now he lists the more mysterious and powerful adversaries,—world forces and the hidden powers of the spirit world. The Apostle appeals to his own personal conviction, formed from his own experience. He had been exposed to every manner of tribulation: illness had laid him so low that his life was despaired of; imprisonment, stonings, scourgings, the plots of bloodthirsty Jewish adversaries,—all these had dogged his steps for a long time, yet God had always rescued him from physical danger and kept his spirits high, and this personal experience had begot in him a profound conviction of the ever present shield of God's love. But while the conviction is personal, it extends to and embraces all the faithful; he immediately reverts to the plural.

There is considerable disagreement as to the exact meaning of the various forces which St. Paul declares incapable of separating the Christian from the love of God. But whatever be the exact meaning of the specific forces mentioned, it is quite clear that St. Paul wishes to make his list complete. There is absolutely nothing existing throughout the whole duration of time (*things present, things to come*), or in the whole extent of space (*height, depth*), or even in the realm of the possible (*any other creature,* i.e. any other possible creation, more alluring, more cunning, and more powerful than the actual world), that is sufficiently strong to resist, impede, or nullify the omnipotent love of God for the elect.

Death, praecipuum inter terribilia as St. Thomas says, with all its mysterious terrors; *life,* again in the words of St. Thomas praecipuum inter appetibilia, with all its enticements and pleasures: *angels, principalities,* those mysterious spiritual beings, whether in their higher or their lower orders, whose power so far transcends that of man, whether good or fallen angels (St. Paul does elsewhere make the impossible supposition that angels from heaven may work at cross purposes with God as in Gal. 1:8); *powers,* whether they be mighty human dictators, or the hidden forces of nature, or the puissant intellectual beings of the invisible world (such are the varying explanations proposed for this term); actualities; things subsequently to come into being; possibles;—none of these things can overcome the love of God for the elect.

This omnipotent divine love for man is *in Christ Jesus our Lord,* because He is God incarnate. "In him dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily" (Col. 2:9). Then too God loves all mankind in Jesus Christ, who, in becoming man, has united Himself with all humanity in a supernatural solidarity, and has merited for men all the wealth of divine love and the supernatural endowments that result from it.

We must remember, as the Protestant commentator, Godet, points out, that the certainty of victory over the forces of evil is not a "mathematical certainty" on the part of man. God will most certainly do His part, but man's fallible free will necessarily enters into the struggle, and wherever man's liberty plays a part, there must needs be an element of uncertainty. As St. Thomas puts it: "That one sometimes falls away from charity is due not to any lack of charity but to the deficiency of free will." St. Paul was fully aware of the possibility of failure both in his own case when left to his own resources and in the case of others. In regard to himself he writes: "I chastise my body and bring it into subjection, lest perhaps after preaching to others I myself should be rejected" (1 Cor. 9:27); and in regard to others he recognizes the possibility of failure when he exhorts: "Let him who thinks he stands take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor. 10:12).

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OBSCURITIES IN THE LATIN PSALTER

XVII

106. Psalm 101:11b. (Saturday, at Terce.)

Quia *elevans allisisti* me.

The two successive experiences are made to seem simultaneous because LXX, for the sake of literary elegance, rendered the first of two finite verbs as a participle, and V followed suit. MT uses two verbs in perfect indicative with "and" between. Jerome agrees, writing *quia levasti* [*al. elevasti*] *me, et allisisti me.* This turns the paradox into a mere change in the Psalmist's fortunes:

For *Thou hast lifted me up, and cast me down.*

107. Psalm 103:17b. (Saturday, at Sext.)

Herodii domus dux est eorum.

There is real doubt about the original of *dux est eorum;* but of that presently. The original of *herodii* in MT is the name of some large bird, occurring five times in O. T. and rendered by the versions with bewildering variety (by V, e.g., as heron," "pelican" and "kite"), but commonly understood by modern Hebraists as "stork."

Dux est eorum is LXX's reading of the next Hebrew form, which would need two corrections to justify it. But let us take it in the light of context. The Psalmist is reflecting on that divine wisdom (verse 24) which has adjusted all creation in an order of mutual fitness and co-operation. He has recalled (13) how the water descending the hillsides satisfies the needs of the soil, (14) producing grass for cattle and grain for man, (15) the vine, the olive, and wheat. By the same water (16) "the trees of Yahweh [so the Hebrew] are satisfied, the cedars of Lebanon, which He has planted." The cedars in turn serve the birds, since (17a) "there the sparrows have their nests." For 17b LXX apparently read "as for the stork, *in their head* is her home," but changed the construction by interpreting "in their head" as a verbal clause, thus producing "the home of the stork leads them." (For "stork," however, they wrote "heron.") If "head" is original, the sense would be that the smaller birds nest in the lower branches of the cedars, while "as for the stork, in their top is her home."

In MT., however, the doubtful Hebrew form gives us "firs" or "cypresses," the letter rendered before as a prefixed *in* becoming a radical. This would mean "as for the stork, the firs are her home," while the cedars are more acceptable to the smaller birds. An attractive antithesis, which Jerome endorses by writing *milvo abies domus ejus* (taking the uncertain bird to be the kite). Normally, however, firs would be paralleled with cedars in the same couplet, whereas the latter have not been named since the preceding verse. Some writers further deny that the fir or the cypress is to be found in Lebanon—though this, considering the freedom of Old Testament botany and zoology, is an objection not to be pressed too strictly.

The balance of probability is about even, and each opinion has its supporters. If, with Kittel and Bird, we consider the reading of LXX-V probably original, we have only to change the construction into harmony with the Hebrew, and read,

There the sparrows have their nests,
as for the stork, in their top is her home.

Or if, with Zorell, we prefer the reading of MT-Jerome, the latter member would be

as for the stork, the firs are her home.

108. Psalm 103:25a. (Saturday, at Sext.)

Hoc mare magnum, et *spatiosum manibus.*

Hoc is almost the adverb "here," about equivalent to "behold!" *Spatiosum manibus* is a Hebrew idiom verbally imitated: "broad of (both) hands" (the dual), i.e., extensive on both sides or directions. *Manibus* is simply redundant to our expression of the thought; incidentally, LXX omits it. So we have simply

Here is the sea, great and *wide.*

109. Psalm 103:26b. (Saturday, at Sext.)

Illic naves pertransibunt: draco iste, quem formasti
ad illudendum ei.

"There the ships go to and fro; and that monster [*liwyāthān*] which Thou hast formed," but not (as it might seem) "to mock at him." The Hebrew verb is "sport" or "play," which in both Latin and Greek is a compound requiring the dative. The pronoun in the dative refers to "the sea, great and wide," and translates the Hebrew phrase "in it." Even Jerome's *leviathan istum plasmasti ut illuderet ei* renders this phrase again by a dative pronoun after *in* in composition. The sense is

> There the ships go to and fro;
> and that monster which Thou hast formed
> *to sport therein.*

110. Psalm 104:28b. (Saturday, at Matins.)

Misit tenebras, et obscuravit: et *non exacerbavit sermones suos.*

The original is really uncertain here, owing to the three rather minor points of variance, and to their uneven distribution among the versions. One is the authenticity of *non;* another, the original meaning of *exacerbavit,* and the third is its original number.

To begin with the verb as in MT, it is a plural form which is alike in two verbs, one meaning "rebelled" or "resisted," while the other is intransitive (in the present form), meaning "was bitter." Since all the versions give it a direct object, it was clearly the former of the two. Further, LXX retains the plural, "they resisted," and Jerome returns to this with *fuerunt increduli.*

Greater difficulty is created by *non.* It is absent from LXX, the Syriac, and the anonymous Greek version known as Sexta. The other versions, even Quinta, have it.

The meaning "resisted" or "withstood" for the verb, and its plurality, appear to be sure. The context is descriptive of the Egyptian plagues, and its plural pronouns clearly refer to the Egyptians. Hence the earliest reading (LXX-Syr.-Sexta), "they resisted His words," makes perfect sense. But in a passage subject to public liturgical use, how could a negative intrude into the sentence and reverse its whole meaning?

Hoberg defends V in both *non* and the singular verb, and even in making the latter mean "sharpen" or "embitter." He refers the statement, not to the decree itself of darkness, but to the patient appeals and warnings which preceded the whole series of plagues. God, at that time, "did not make His words bitter." But the plural of the verb seems certain, and this transitive meaning for it would require an emendation of the Hebrew form which the earliest versions do not demand.

Boylan takes the verb as plural, and (if the Vulgate is otherwise to be retained) refers it to Moses and Aaron, charged with the sentence of punishment, and mentioned in the preceding verse. "They did not withstand His words," i.e., did not hesitate to believe and to execute them. Jerome seems to incline to this: *non fuerunt increduli verbis ejus.* However, "they" throughout the whole context are always the Egyptians. As an alternative, Boylan offers to add one letter to the Hebrew verb and to read "they did not observe His words." But "observe" in this sense is seldom if ever followed by "words," while the more customary phrase, "hear His words," would involve radical emendation.

All things considered, it is with reason that Bird and Zorell think that LXX and the Syriac preserve the original, and that "not" must be omitted. This would leave

He sent darkness, and darkness came;
and *they resisted His words.*

111. Psalm 105:7c. (Saturday, at Matins.)

Et *irritaverunt ascendentes in mare,* Mare Rubrum.

Ascendentes in LXX-V modifies the subject of the verb: "they were rebellious going up to the sea." But LXX read "going up" from a Hebrew preposition, derived from the root "go up," but varying much in its meanings. Here it is probably "at" (possibly "concerning") the sea, but hardly "going up to." This is the only source of loss to the sense, which appears to be

And *they were rebellious at the sea,* the Red Sea.

112. Psalm 107:10a. (Saturday, at Prime.)

Moab *lebes spei meae.*

This varies but little from *Moab olla spei meae* in Ps. 59; verses 8-14 are identical in the two. The former passage has been explained in this series.[1] *Lebes,* like *olla,* is "pot, bowl, caldron." The original of *spei* is the Hebrew noun "washing." V follows LXX's misreading of this word, of which an explanation was attempted in the earlier article. Here, as there, the meaning is

Moab *is my wash-bowl.*

[1] Vol. II, No. 4, p. 343.

113. Psalm 108:6b. (Saturday, at None.)

Constitue super eum peccatorem, et *diabolus* stet
a dextris ejus.

"May the devil stand at his right hand" (Douay, Challoner) was not in the poet's mind, whatever his zeal for retributive justice. His Hebrew word *sāṭān,* though several times equivalent to a proper name in the Old Testament, is much more commonly the appellative "adversary." But since this in effect generally implied a false denouncer or slanderer (as in the rôle of "Satan" at the beginning of Job), the Greek equivalent was regularly διάβολος. The persistence of the common appellative force is evident twice in the language of Christ. To St. Peter's protests against the Passion He replies (Mt. 16:23), "Get behind me, adversary!" (σαταvâ) and of Judas He says (Jn. 6:71), "One of you is an adversary" (διάβολος).

Latin Christianity, in borrowing the Greek word, centered its attention on the special meaning "devil"—a relentless opponent in the way of salvation. Here, however, the original force remains, and furnishes a perfect parallel: give him an unscrupulous ruler as judge, and then a false accuser:

Appoint over him a sinner,
and let *a slanderer* stand at his right;

that is, where he would look for a friend and supporter.

114. Psalm 108:23b. (Saturday, at None.)

Sicut umbra cum declinat, ablatus sum: et *excussus*
sum sicut locustae.

When locusts are shaken off, they are, of course, deprived of sustenance. So, the Psalmist feels, has his own span of life been threatened with shortening:

Like a shadow when it lengthens, I am gone;
and *I am shaken off like a locust.*

(*To be continued*)

WILLIAM H. MCCLELLAN, S.J.

Woodstock College
Woodstock, Maryland

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CORNER

THE DATE OF ABRAHAM

II

That an Elamite king named Kŭdur-Lagamar did exist at some other period of Babylonian history is attested by three tablets which have been appropriately styled the Chedorlaomer Tablets.[1] This fact that Babylon is called Karduniash on these tablets shows that the originals from which they were copied were composed during the Kassite period. It does not prove that the events which they describe occurred during that period.

They record the misfortunes which befell the Babylonians at some undefined period of history and ascribe these misfortunes to the displeasure of the gods at their misdeeds. One of the chief agents of these misfortunes is said to have been an Elamite king named Kudur-laḫam-mal. Since Laḫamal or Lagamal is the Babylonian form of Lagamar, we have the name Chedorlaomer of Gen. 14:1 ff. This Elamite king is mentioned on all three tablets. On the first (Sp. III, 2, Rev. 1) he is said to have laid waste the cities and sanctuaries of Akkad. The second recounts that he devastated the land of Nippur by leading the Umman-manda or hordes against it (Sp. 962, Rev. 21, 22). On the third the gods are said to have entrusted him with the task of punishing Babylon and to have granted him dominion over the city (Sp. 987).

In connection with Chedorlaomer, a Tudḫula, the son of Gazza(?), is mentioned; he is said to have plundered Babylon and its temple, Esagila. Tudḫula seems to be the common Hittite name Tutḫaliash, with which the tablets of Boghaz-koy have made us familiar. It could, without difficulty, be identified with Tidal (Gen. 14:1).

The first tablet, also, records that Tukulti-belit-ilani, the son of Arad-Ekua, despoiled Babylon (Sp. III, 20b, v. 8). The third tablet declares that Kŭdur-Lagamar seated Tukulti-belit-ilani on the throne of Babylon (Sp. 987, 1. 19).

Thus we have two of the names which occur in Gen. 14:1 ff. Moreover, as in Gen. 14:1, Chedorlaomer is the dominant personality. This renders it at least probable that we are dealing with the same persons. It is tempting to identify Arad-Ekua with Arioch, but the consonants do not quite agree.

We may now attempt to determine the time when the events described on the Chedorlaomer tablets occurred. Albright conjectures some period during the reign of the Kassite dynasty when Elam was strong and Babylon was weak.[2] But since the Kassites conquered

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[1] Alfred Jeremias, "Die sogenannten Kedorlaomer Texte," *MDVG*, 1917, pp. 69-97.

[2] "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology," *JPOS*, vol. I, p. 72ff.; *AJSL*, vol. 40, p. 133.

Babylon several hundred years after the accession of Hammurabi (ca. 1800 B.C.), this conjecture is so utterly at variance with any of the dates for Abraham derived from the Massoretic or Septuagint chronology that it must be rejected.

We must, therefore, seek for some other period in Babylonian history when the Elamites were dominant in southern Mesopotamia. This occurred about 2100 B.C. when some unnamed king of the Elamites overthrew the third dynasty of Ur and brought its last king, Ibi-Sin, a prisoner to Anshan.[3] Chedorlaomer may have been this unknown king or one of his immediate successors. Hence he may have devastated Akkad at this time and made himself master of Babylon. Thus it is quite probable that Chedorlaomer lived about 2000 B.C. This date agrees closely with the Massoretic chronology for Abraham.

Who, then, was Amraphel, king of Shinar? Although the name has thus far not been found on the cuneiform tablets, it may plausibly be explained with Albright[4] as being equivalent to *Amurru-ippal, Amurru-apil, Amurru-apili,* or *Amurru-ipul,* meaning respectively, "The god Amurru will recompense, recompenses, is my rewarder, has recompensed."

Shinar, as we have seen, may denote Babylonia. Amurru-apil or Amraphel, then, may have been a puppet king of Babylon under the suzerainty of Chedorlaomer. He may have been a successor of Tukulti-belit-ilani, whom Chedorlaomer is said to have appointed king of Babylon.

If this suggestion seems unacceptable, we may follow Albright in equating Shinar with Shanghar.[5] This country was situated between the Tigris and Euphrates and bounded on the South by Babylonia. It was called Ḫana by its own sovereigns and its capital seems to have been Tirqa, just below the mouth of the Habur.

Ḫana was an independent state ruled by an Amprite dynasty before Hammurabi came to power in Babylon. In the days of Chedorlaomer it may have been a vassal state of Elam just as it was centuries later when the Elamites subdued Kassite Babylon. Amraphel, then, may have been a king of Shanghar under the overlordship of Chedorlaomer.

As we have already noted, Tidal or Tudḫula seems to be the Hittite name Tutḫaliash, in which the syllable *ash* is a mere case ending. His title, king of the nations, suggests that he was a leader of migrating hordes, which are termed Umman-manda in Babylonian. Chedorlaomer, as we have seen, employed Umman-manda to devastate Nippur. We conclude, therefore, that Tidal was a captain of mercenaries in the service of Elam. His name implies that he belonged to the Indo-

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[3] F. W. Koenig, *Geschichte Elams,* p. 12 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1931; AO, Bd. 29, Heft 4).

[4] *AJSL,* vol. 40, p. 127.

[5] *AJSL,* vol. 40, p. 26; *JPOS,* vol. I, pp. 72-74.

European Hittites who conquered the Anatolian Proto-Hittites about 2000 B.C., and laid the foundations of the later Hittite empire. This empire had several sovereigns of this name, but chronology forbids us to identify Tidal with any of them. He may have been the leader of an advance guard of Hittites who entered Asia Minor before the mass migration of the nation began. It is, also, possible that he was a Luvian. The Luvians were racially akin to the Indo-European Hittites and settled in southern Anatolia long before their kinsmen.

Arioch of Ellasar is not easy to identify. His name may be Hurrian, equivalent to Ari-Aku as Albright suggests.[6] Ari is a Hurrian word signifying gift, so that the name would mean "Gift of the god Aku." Hurrian proper names occur in southern Mesopotamia as early as the middle of the third millenium and increase in number in the neo-Sumerian age.[7] Ellasar may be Larsa, even though the equivalence is difficult to explain phonetically. Arioch would then be a Hurrian constituted sub-king of Larsa by Chedorlaomer, his Elamite overlord.

Albright has proposed Alsi (אֶלסי) as the original form of the perplexing Ellasar.[8] Alsi was a state in northern Mesopotamia in the region of Diarbekr and Marden. At the beginning of the second millenium it may already have been overrun by Hurrians and may have been subject to Elam. But the transformation of Alsi into Ellasar through scribal influence is not easy to grasp.

Subsequently, Albright suggested Akarsallu as the prototype of Ellasar.[9] Akarsallu was a town east of the Tigris in the region between the lower Zab and the Adeim. It formed one of a group of Hurrian states which can be traced to the fourth millenium. Albright displays considerable ingenuity in explaining how Akarsallu might have evolved into Ellasar through successive scribal errors. But his explanation seems too complex to be plausible.

This concludes our investigation of the problem concerning the date of Abraham. We have seen that it cannot be solved by identifying Amraphel with Hammurabi; this is precluded by the dissimilarity of the names. Even if we assume that Amraphel is a corruption of Hammurabi, we encounter an insoluble difficulty in Chedorlaomer. On the other hand, this monarch together with the other kings, his allies, mentioned in Gen. 14:1 ff., probably existed about 2000 B.C. This view agrees closely with the Massoretic chronology for Abraham.

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[6] *JPOS,* vol. I, p. 175; *AJSL,* vol. 40, p. 133.

[7] Albrecht Goetze, *Hethiter, Churriter, und Assyrer,* Chap. IV (Oslo: 1936).

[8] *JPOS,* vol. I, pp. 74-75.

[9] *AJSL,* vol. 40, p. 133.

BIBLICAL NEWS

The Reverend Edward H. Donzé, S.M., S.T.D., S.S.L., General Secretary of the Catholic Biblical Association of America from its inception in 1936, has been transferred to the Marist Parish in St. Paul, Minn. This change made it necessary for Father Donzé to relinquish his post as General Secretary, which he held with distinction and discharged with conspicuous generosity. Father Donzé devoted his organizing genius, his charming personality and his time, with complete self-sacrifice and utter generosity, to the work of inaugurating and building up the Association. Success attended his efforts, for during his tenure of office the Association's membership grew from fifty to well over eight hundred, and several very successful general meetings were held, which had been largely planned and arranged by him. He also held membership on several important committees and on the Editorial Board for the revision of both the Old and the New Testament in English. Along with his manifold activities in the Association Father Donzé also taught Sacred Scripture both at the Marist College in Washington and at the Catholic University. The Association owes an immense debt to its first General Secretary, and public expression of appreciation was made at the Cleveland meeting.

His Excellency, Most Rev. J. P. Hurley, D.D., Bishop of St. Augustine, Florida, has recently declared the Confraternity Edition of the New Testament the official vernacular version for his diocese. His Excellency, in order to engage the interest of his clergy in the revised text, first submitted it to a board of censors made up of eleven of his priests. Their report was most favorable. Eight of the censors recommended the adoption of the text without further comment; three others, while favoring its adoption, offered some suggestions for its improvement.

His Excellency placed the report of his censors in the hands of the secretary for the Revision Committee, and then called a diocesan conference of all priests of the diocese for the consideration of the text. The conference was held on October 21st, 1942, and was conducted by the secretary of the Revision Committee. Monsignor Newton opened the meeting with a review of the history of our Catholic version of the New Testament in English, and explained the place that the revised text assumes in that story. Four of the diocesan clergy then delivered papers, all dealing with the revised text and with the means of making it better known by the people. The afternoon session was devoted to a review of the principles which guided the Revision Committee in their work, and to an illustration of how these principles have modified our vernacular version. Opportunity was given for questions dealing with individual changes.

At the close of the conference the board of censors presented their report, recommending the adoption of the text. His Excellency pronounced the Confraternity Edition the official vernacular text of the diocese, effective January 1st, 1943. It was also resolved that every priest in the diocese secure a copy of the Commentary on the New Testament recently published by the Catholic Biblical Association.

According to an N.C.W.C. news report, Argentina's first National Bible Congress was held at Buenos Aires, October 5. It was organized by the Federation of Catholic Professors and Teachers as an act of filial homage to His Holiness Pope Pius XII. The Congress had the hearty approval of the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, His Eminence Santiago Cardinal Copello, and of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Giuseppe Fietta, Papal Nuncio to Argentina.

Their Excellencies, the Episcopal Committee on the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, have announced the appointment of the Rev. Maurice A. Hofer, S.S.L., of the Pontifical College, Josephinum, Worthington, Ohio, to the Editorial Board for the Revision of the Old Testament. Fr. Hofer will have charge of all matters that pertain to the treatment of proper names in the Old Testament text.

As noted in the Editorial Comment, the year 1943 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on biblical studies, *the Providentissimus Deus.* Various plans are being formed for the commemoration of this significant anniversary. The Association has already called the matter to the attention of the Hierarchy, and members of the Association are expected to aid in promoting the commemoration of this great papal document, the *Magna Charta* of biblical studies. Biblical Sunday, Septuagesima (February 21, 1943), offers an opportunity for reminding the people in sermons of the solicitude of the Popes for the Sacred Writings and their ardent wish that the laity familiarize themselves with the written word of God, and thereby enrich and deepen their spiritual life.

A real enthusiast for the work of the Biblical Association recently wrote the following note after he had attended the Cleveland meeting, enclosing a check for $50.00:

"The enclosed check is half from my mother and half from myself. I got a big thrill out of that meeting. One of the astonishing things was that none of you ever mentioned money—so here it is to help the biggest enterprise American scholars have ever attempted. Use it at your own discretion—to pay expenses incurred at that convention; or any way you please."

REPORT OF THE SIXTH GENERAL MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC BIBLICAL ASSOCIATION

The sixth general meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association of America was held in Cleveland, Ohio, September 1-2, 1942, under the kind patronage of the Most Reverend Joseph Schrembs, S.T.D. The headquarters of the meeting was St. Mary's Seminary. The hospitality of the seminary was extended to the attending members for the interesting academic sojourn, and its scholarly environment and classical beauty contributed to the scholars' delight. The committee in charge of arrangements consisted of the Right Rev. James M. McDonough, the Right Rev. William L. Newton, and the Very Rev. Joseph F. Walsh.

An interesting and provocative program of papers and discussions was arranged by the Program Committee. This committee was comprised of the following members of the Association: Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., President; Rev. Edward P. Arbez, Consultor; Right Rev. William L. Newton, Consultor; Rev. Edward H. Donzé, S.M., General Secretary; Rev. Michael J. Gruenthaner, Editor-in-Chief of the Quarterly.

The following members were in attendance:

Ahern, Rev. Barnabas, C.P.
Brunet, Rev. A., S.J.
Brunet, Rev. Adrien, O.P.
Callan, Very Rev. Charles, O.P.
Collins, Rev. John J., S.J.
Considine, Rev. J. S., O.P.
Cummins, Rev. Patrick, O.S.B.
DeVine, Rev. C. F., C.SS.R.
Dobell, Rev. Richard J.
Donzé, Rev. Edward H., S.M.
Dougherty, Rev. John J.
Galvin, Rev. John
Gaul, Rev. Cyril, O.S.B.
Gruenthaner, Rev. M. J., S.J.
Hanley, Rev. J. G.
Hartdegen, Rev. Stephen, O.F.M.
Hartman, Rev. Louis, C.SS.R.
Heupler, Rev. Charles, O.F.M.Cap.
Hodous, Rev. Edward J., S.J.
Hofer, Rev. Maurice A.
Krellner, Rev. Justin, O.S.B.
Kugelman, Rev. Richard, C.P.
Kutchera, Rev. Alvin
Lilly, Rev. Joseph L., C.M.
Louis, Rev. Conrad, O.S.B.
McEvoy, Rev. John A., S.J.
McHugh, Very Rev. John A., O.P.
McKenzie, Rev. John L., S.J.
Maguire, Rev. Joseph, C.S.C.
Mallon, Rev. Vincent P., M.M.
Mangan, Rev. Edward A., C.SS.R.
Martin, Rev. D. W., C.M.
Meyer, Rt. Rev. Albert G.
Murphy, Rev. John H., C.S.C.
Murray, Rev. John
Newton, Rt. Rev. William L.
Olinger, Rev. Eberhard, O.S.B.
Plassmann, Very Rev. T., O.F.M.
Poulet, Very Rev. Donat, O.M.I.
Przezdziecki, Rev. Joseph J.
Quigley, Rev. Owen J., C.M.
Rowan, Rev. John F.
Sawkins, Rev. A. J.
Scheper, Very Rev. John B.
Schumacher, Rev. Matthew, C.S.C.
Seraphin, Rev. Eugene, O.F.M.
Shine, Rev. William A.
Siegman, Rev. E. F., C.PP.S.

Skehan, Rev. Patrick J.
Sloane, Rev. Charles O'C.
Smyth, Rev. Kevin, O.F.M.Cap.
Stapleton, Rev. M. P.
Steinmueller, Rev. John E.
Stenz, Rev. John B.
Yungfleisch, Rev. Simon, C.P.
Zens, Rev. Claude P.
Zimmerman, Rev. Damien, O.M.C.

On Tuesday at 9:30 the sixth general meeting was officially opened with the celebration of Mass in the Seminary Chapel. The celebrant of the Mass was the Most Reverend James A. McFadden, S.T.D., Auxiliary Bishop of Cleveland. After Mass His Excellency addressed the members of the Association. He welcomed them in the name of Archbishop Schrembs and expressed his deep interest and admiration for the work of the Association. He emphasized the enthusiasm which the Archbishop had felt in speaking of the Cleveland meeting, and his sincere desire to extend to all the members the hospitality of the Diocese. After the Bishop's remarks the Rector of the Seminary, Monsignor McDonough, also expressed a word of welcome.

The academic session on Tuesday at 10:30 was devoted to the paper of Father Gruenthaner on *The Date of Abraham,* and of Father Siegman on the treatment of *Genesis I-XI in the Seminary Course.* Father Gruenthaner's paper may be read in this number of the Quarterly and the preceding issue. The paper of Father Siegman was provocative. The discussion evoked was interesting and serviceable, since it aired the varied viewpoints regarding the exegesis of Genesis I-XI. It is to be hoped that the discussions will produce some written expression in the Quarterly on the subject. It is only by a thorough analysis of liberal interpretations that their compatibility with basic doctrines may be determined.

The discussion on Genesis was carried over to the afternoon session. Upon its conclusion Monsignor Newton presented *A Class Review of the Old Testament.* He offered for consideration and criticism an analytic outline of the Old Testament designed for students as a preparation for the reading and study of the Old Testament.

The Business Meeting followed. Father Steinmueller, Treasurer, submitted the following report:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand November 1, 1941	$ 9,470.17	
Gift of Most Rev. Bishop O'Hara	10,000.00	
Return of checks by one editor and on reviser	225.00	
Dues and subscriptions	3,165.83	
Royalty (Wm. H. Sadlier on Gospel & Epistle Book)	1,269.96	
Bank interest	239.69	
Bank credit	.54	
		$24,371.19

EXPENDITURES

Reimbursement to N.T. revisers and editors	2,280.66	
Abbey Press	1,245.80	
Secretary	409.68	
One Volume Commentary	225.49	
Visual Aid Committee	201.81	
Articles contributed to C.B.Q.	195.50	
Committee on Expansion of Membership	54.20	
Treasurer	38.14	
Travelling expenses for Editors of C.B.Q.	25.75	
Books for Review	14.31	
Returned check	5.00	
Recording Secretary	2.50	
Loss on Foreign Exchange	2.29	
		4,701.13
Balance		$19,670.06

DISPOSITION OF FUNDS

Dimes Savings Bank	5,026.45	
Bushwick Savings Bank	5,460.46	
Bushwick Savings Bank (Publications Division)	5,025.00	
Defense Bonds	2,220.00	
First National Bank & Trust Co. (Huntington)	1,926.39	
Cash on hand	11.76	
		$19,670.06

In his report on *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* Father Gruenthaner stated that he wrote to the active members of the Association last February requesting that they submit articles. He expressed the urgent need that exists for more contributions. It is necessary to receive a greater number of articles annually if a high standard is to be maintained, and he called upon all the active members to give serious thought to this need. Eleven volunteered to contribute papers on Biblical Theology.

In reporting for the *Committee on Enlargement of Resources* Father Steinmueller observed that there are three possible ways to increase the resources of the Association, namely, increase in membership, expansion in the field of publication, and contributions. In connection with the second way he suggested the publication of pamphlets on biblical questions, since this field is not adequately covered by the published pamphlets treating of Catholic Doctrine. It was decided after discussion that the Committee on Enlargement of Resources should consider the ways and means of effectuating such a project.

Father Stapleton reported for the *Committee on Membership.* He told of the success he has had in the diocese of Boston in procuring membership among the parochial clergy, and encouraged others to advertise membership in their localities. It was suggested that the Quarterly be sold at two dollars to seminarians who are not members of the Association. This plan received the approval of the general body.

The Report of the *Committee on the One-Volume Commentary* was submitted by Monsignor Newton. He declared that it was the constant urging of Bishop O'Hara that stimulated the editorial board to the completion of the work. It was only by the greatest cooperation of all concerned that the commentary was completed at this early date. Monsignor Newton was particularly grateful for the spirit of cooperation manifested by the authors of the commentaries, especially in view of the fact that their work at times suffered great reducing in order to fit the restrictions imposed by a one-volume commentary. The finest cooperation was also given by the publishers, W. H. Sadlier Inc.; it was necessary for them to work through the clock on two occasions in order to meet the deadline. The great task now is that of distribution. In this regard the cooperation of the Holy Name Federation is assured. The Federation hopes to distribute 100,000 copies within the next year. Father Steinmueller was appointed chairman of the Committee on Distribution.

In the report on the progress of the *Scientific Commentaries* it was announced that fourteen members have already accepted books. It is hoped that the first will be ready in three or four years, and that the commentaries will appear thereafter at the rate of one or two volumes a year.

The *Visual Aids Committee* reported the expenditure of some $200 during the past year. For this two projectors and two sets of slides on Jerusalem were bought. This is the first part of a projected lending library of slides on the Bible Lands. Father Hartdegen reported that several members have borrowed the equipment and that it is working out to the satisfaction of all. He also announced that members may buy a copy of the Jerusalem lecture at a reasonable rate if a sufficient number order it.

The following were elected Active Members of the Association upon the recommendation of the *Committee on Credentials:*

Rev. Barnabas Ahern, C.P.
Rev. F. J. Crump, O.M.I.
Rev. George Denzer
Rev. Lucien Dozois, O.M.I.
Rev. William Kenneally, C.M.
Rev. Joseph Magee, S.M.
Rev. Thomas F. Markham
Rev. John Murphy, C.S.C.
Rev. Lucien Ouellette
Rev. Sebastiano Pagano, O.M.I.
Rev. Theodore Peterson, C.S.P.
Rev. John A. Rodutsky
Rev. Dominic Unger, O.F.M.Cap.
Rev. Bernard Vogler, S.M.
Rev. Claude Zens
Rev. Damien Zimmerman, O.F.M.Cap.

Under *Old and New Business* the first discussion was concerning the place of the next annual meeting. Father Poulet expressed on behalf of the Archbishop of Ottawa the kind invitation to hold the seventh general meeting of the Association in Ottawa. He said that the Rector of the University desired to put at our disposal the new Seminary of the University. Since next year is the fiftieth anniversary of *Providentissimus Deus,* Father Poulet thought it would be fitting to hold the meeting at a Pontifical University. This suggestion was heartily accepted by the general body, and, conditions permitting, we shall meet in Ottawa in 1943.

It was further suggested that the Catholic Biblical Association mark in a special manner the anniversary of the encyclical of Leo XIII, and a committee was named to prepare this commemoration.

Father Donzé reported that the executive committee had discussed the setting up of a research center in Washington. This place seemed most favorable since large libraries are so accessible. Father Plassmann then told that after consulting Bishop O'Hara he was ready to interview the Rector of the University, but the untimely death of Bishop Corrigan precluded it. Father Donzé suggested that the Executive Board be authorized to draw up a plan to be submitted to the Catholic University. This plan is to be presented at the next general meeting.

Father Steinmueller suggested that the Association take under advisement an affiliation with the National Catholic Educational Association. This was discussed and the motion was made and seconded that the new officers of the Association undertake to work out terms for such an affiliation, the terms to be submitted to the next general meeting for approval.

The officers of the Catholic Biblical Association for the year 1942-43:

President: Rev. Donat Poulet, O.M.I.
Vice-President: Very Rev. John B. Scheper
General Secretary: Rev. Joseph L. Lilly, C.M.
Asst. Gen. Sec.: Rev. Richard T. Murphy, O.P.
Recording Secretary: Rev. Richard Kugelman, C.P.
Treasurer: Rev. John E. Steinmueller

Committees

Elected to the Editorial Board of the Catholic Biblical Quarterly

Rev. Louis Hartman, C.SS.R.
Rev. Joseph L. Lilly, C.M.
Rev. John J. Dougherty
Rev. Cyril Gaul, O.S.B.

On Nominations
- Rev. Richard J. Dobell, Chairman
- Rev. Kevin Smyth, O.F.M.Cap.
- Rev. Edward J. Byrne
- Rev. Charles O'Conor Sloane

On Scientific Commentaries
- Rev. Edward H. Donzé, S.M., Chairman
- Rev. Joseph L. Lilly, C.M.
- Rev. Richard J. Dobell
- Rev. Matthew P. Stapleton
- Rev. J. S. Considine, O.P.

On Distribution of One-Volume Commentary
- Rev. John E. Steinmueller
- Rev. Richard J. Dobell
- Rev. Cyril Gaul, O.S.B.

On the Commemoration of *Providentissimus Deus*
- Rev. John J. Collins, S.J.
- Rev. Elmer McNamara
- Rev. John G. Hanley
- Rev. Charles G. Heupler, O.F.M.Cap.

Both sessions on Wednesday, September 2 were devoted to discussions on problems presented by the work of revising the Old Testament, and the specific problems of the editorial board. Monsignor Newton reviewed the history of the undertaking. His report will appear in the April issue. The principles of revision are clear and definite; it is the application of general principles to particular cases that calls for judgment. The discussion of specific cases resulted in certain definite decisions. It was also pointed out that some of the revisers have not been employing the principles to full advantage. Father Skehan presented definite problems from the editorial viewpoint, and these were discussed at length.

In his presidential address at the conclusion of the sessions Father Plassmann made an eloquent and stirring appeal for the establishment of the Scriptures in the place of honor they deserve. When men strive to make theology practical and vital they must go to the Sacred Scriptures for in them is the *theologia salutaris*. He emphasized that the Bible is the textbook for a true theological synthesis. His address appears in this number of *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*.

Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given in the Seminary Chapel, and the closing event of the meeting was dinner at the Seminary, at which Bishop McFadden presided.

JOHN J. DOUGHERTY
Recording Secretary

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

Old Testament and Related Topics

American Journal of Archaeology, 45, 1941. Marjorie J. Milne, "The use of τορεύω and related words" (390-98). Proposes to show that "they refer to embossed work, primarily metal work, and that there is no evidence for the common assumption that they refer to sculpture in general." Septuagint references are, Ex. 25:18,31,36; 3 Kgs. 10:22 ff.; Cant. 5:14; 7:3; Jer. 10:9.

Biblical Archaeologist, 5, 1942. J. Penrose Harland, "Sodom and Gomorrah: The Location of the Cities of the Plain" (17-32). Reviews in careful detail all the evidence and probabilities, holding of course for a location at the southern, and not the northern, end of the Dead Sea.

Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 39, 1940. The Volume is devoted to a selection ('Tome II') of papyri from the collection of Theodore Reinach. Nos. 59-61 (pp. 1-5) are O.T. fragments in Greek—Exod. 40:5-14,19-25, third century; Pss. 100:1-4,8; 101:1-3, eighth century; Ps. 140, seventh century (this last previously edited in *Aegyptus*). The editor is Paul Collart.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 87, 1942. Notices of the life and works of the three distinguished scholars George A. Barton, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, and George A. Reisner (1-10).

W. F. Albright, "A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I of Damascus to the God Melcarth" (23-29). A short but significant Aramaic inscription, somewhat older than the Mesa stone, and the first noteworthy native source for the once powerful kingdom of Aram. The king identifies himself as son of Tabrimmon, son of Hezion (cf. 3 Kgs. 15:18; the reading on the stele, published in 1941 by M. Dunand, is shrewdly restored at this point by Albright). Albright decides for a date about 850 B.C. for the stele on epigraphic grounds. This leads him to identify the Ben-Hadad of 3 Kgs. 15 with the ruler of Aram who opposed Achab (3 Kgs. 20; 4 Kgs. 8), whose ancestry is not given. It does not, however, seem impossible that the stele should date from 890 to 880 B.C., in accordance with the current assumptions regarding Ben-Hadad I and 'II.' The find was made some five miles north of Aleppo, among Roman ruins.

W. F. Albright, "A Case of Lèse-Majesté in Pre-Israelite Lachish, with some Remarks on the Israelite Conquest" (32-38). A re-examination of the tablet found at Tell-el-Hesi in Palestine in 1892, with improved reading and rendering. Points out that southern Palestinian towns which were in Canaanite hands at the time of the Israelite conquest are represented as Egyptian garrison towns in the Amarna period; urges this as further evidence that the Conquest took place in the thirteenth century B.C.

Ralph Marcus, "The Word *Šibboleth* Again" (p. 39). Rejects Speiser's hypothesis (*B.A.S.O.R.* 85) that there is valid reason for suppossing a pronunciation *ṯubbult*^{u} for the test word (Jdgs. 12:6) in Gilead; retains his own theory (*J.B.L.*, 60, 1941, 141-50) that the peculiar pronunciation was that of the Ephraimites, who pronounced *śibboleth* with *śin*, in an Amorite fashion.

Ecclesiastical Review, 107, 1942. F. X. Peirce, S.J., "A Problem in Old Testament Sapiential Literature" (227-32). Studies the views held by several editors of the *Bonner Bibel* series as to whether Wisdom is truly portrayed as a Person in the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom. The editors of each of these books, and also Heinisch in his supplementary volume on Old Testament theology, seem to agree that real personality is present. This view Fr. Peirce endorses, adding some considerations of his own to support it.

Expository Times, 53, 1941-2. James Wood, "Is the Old Testament Christian Scripture?" (238-40). Argues against a tendency to set the O.T. aside either as a whole or in part. "What we need in our day is a view of the canon which makes room for the new knowledge concerning the Old Testament, and which at the same time believes that the Old Testament still mediates that revelation of God, which in earlier days commended it to the Christian Church."

T. Nicklin, "When did Hezekiah Reign?" (p. 243). Supposes the sun-dial phenomenon to be the effect of an eclipse dated for Jerusalem at 2:18 P.M., March 14, 711 B.C. (an eclipse apparently not total). Dates Ezechias' reign accordingly from 726 to 698 B.C.

J. W. Jack, "Recent Biblical Archaeology" (276-80; 367-70). Deals with sources of water-supply and their influence on town-sites and village life in ancient Palestine. Makes the names of many water-sources depend on "polydemonism," following a study by T. Canaan. The second article discusses some textual obscurities in the O.T. cleared up by recent evidence from Ras Shamra and elsewhere.

Theodore H. Robinson, "'Covenant' in the Old Testament" (298-99). It is the "conception of a new and complex personality, formed by the combination of two or more separate individuals or groups of individuals, which constitutes the idea of the covenant for ancient Israel." Applies this notion to the New Covenant of Christ.

Harvard Theological Review, 35, 1942. Harry Austryn Wolfson, "Philo on Free Will" (131-69). Strictly a philosophical study, combining keen penetration and admirable clarity in the presentation of Philo's position with some stupefying assumptions and conclusions.

Jewish Quarterly Review, 33, 1942-3. Samuel Kraussŝ, "The Archaeological Background of the Song of Songs" (17-27; cont'd and to be cont'd). Dealing with Cant. 3:6; 6:9; 8:5, says: "It is quite beyond question that a bipartite procession took place whenever a wedding ceremony was celebrated." For the "pillar of smoke" in 3:6, long discussion concludes to "like a palm tree column adjusted in the shape of a masterwork of ivory" (!).

Max Vogelstein, "Bakshish for Bagoas?" (89-92). Comparing the last sentence of the most famous of the Elephantine papyri with the language of Esdras 4:14, concludes with evident justice that the על זהב of the papyrus is a corrupt dittography for the על זנה which follows it immediately.

Journal of Biblical Literature, 60, 1941. Theodore H. Gaster, "Ezekiel and the Mysteries" (289-310). Interprets passages in Ezech., chapters 5, 7, 8, 9, as a satirical treatment of recognizable mystery ceremonies. These latter would be connected with a pagan festival of ingathering at the fall equinox, and may be illustrated from extra-biblical sources (Ugaritic, &c.).

Arthur Jeffrey, "The Ethiopic Text of Psalm 63:1" (315). Finds an explanation for the "no tree" of the Ethiopic version in a misreading of LXX *ἄβατος* as *ἀ-* privative plus *βάτος*, "tree, shrub" instead of the verbal noun of *βαίνω*.

Journal of Biblical Literature, 61, 1942. Theophile James Meek, "Monotheism and the Religion of Israel" (21-43). "There are some who still maintain that Moses was a monotheist." The article "was written by invitation of the editors of *J.B.L.*, on the suggestion of Professor Albright, who desired a critical appraisal by someone who disagreed with his views." Meek begins by casting some doubt on whether "trinitarian Christianity" is monotheistic. "In the last analysis, the chief approach to an understanding of what Moses actually taught must be a psychological one." "Before Moses can be regarded as a monotheist, it must be proved that either he or someone before him or in his time demonstrated the non-reality of all gods but one." "Monotheism had to be explicit before it could be implicit." This examination of *From the Stone Age to Christianity* is at an opposite pole to the important estimate given of it by Fr. W. H. McClellan, S. J., in *Theological Studies* (cf. *C.B.Q.*, 1942, p. 171). It has its own interest.

Julius A. Bewer, "Notes on 1 Sam. 13:21, 2 Sam. 23:1, Psalm 48:8" (45-49). In the first case, reads *ušᵉliš šeqel lāšōn ha-qardummīm*, i.e., "and a third of a shekel for sharpening the . . . , &c." (Compare R. Gordis, "A Note on 1 Sam. 13:21," *ibid.*, 209-11, arguing for *ušᵉliš la-qilšōn*, retaining the latter word as a genuine name for an instrument to be sharpened.) Bewer's second point is a critique of a conjecture by G. R. Driver on the text underlying 2 Sam. 23:1, LXX. In Ps. 48:8 he would read *k^{e}rū^{a}ḥ qādīm t^{e}sa'er '^{o}niyōth tarsiš*, i.e., "as when the east wind sweeps (or whirls) away Tarshish ships," cpr. Job 27:21.

Harry M. Orlinsky, "Critical Notes on Gen. 39:14,,17; Jud. 11:37" (87-97). Supposes on LXX evidence a reading *bā' 'ēlay lē'mōr šikbī 'immī* in Gen. 39:14; in verse 17, after *l^{e}ṣaḥeq bī* a line *wayō'mer 'ēlay šikbī 'immī* is introduced on similar grounds. In Jdgs. 11:37 *w^{e}yāradtī* is treated as a corruption of the text. The various explanations proposed for it are cited; its syntactic impossibility is stressed. It is accounted for as a garbled dittography for ורעותי at the end of the verse.

Pearl Stone Wood, "Jeremiah's Figure of the Almond Rod" (99-103). Points out that it was an almond rod that Jeremias saw; not therefore part of a living plant. Compares the rod of Aaron (Num. 17:16-26 M.T.; Heb. 9:4). With other references, suggests that the budding of the dry rod was for Jeremias a sign of "the judgment of Yahweh against a rebellious people."

Osborne Booth, "The Semantic Development of the Word משפט in the Old Testament" (105-10). Analysis with accompanying chart. Three basic factors for the possible meaning of the word in any given case— the custom, the law, and the right. Booth makes this listing the chronological sequence of development.

Herbert Gordon May, "Towards an Objective Approach to the Book of Jeremiah: the Biographer" (139-55). Inquires into the "preconceptions and purposes" of the biographer of Jeremias—who was not Baruch. The "Biographer did not hesitate to place in the mouth of Jeremias long speeches or oracles which were entirely or largely his own composition." The dominant theme is seen as the coming restoration of the Davidic dynasty, which is to rule over a restored Israel as well as Juda. A number of passages in the book are characterized as psalms having no relation to the prophet. The "biographer" was influenced by 'Second Isaias.' Jeremias and his biographer are represented as in opposition to each other in their respective judgments on the Judeans who remained in the land at the time of the captivity. This entirely too facile study concludes with a group of key phrases offered as samples for the diction of the 'Biographer.'

G. Zuntz, "Notes on the Greek Enoch" (193-204). Suggested emendations of the recently published last chapters of Enoch; done with the help of the Ethiopic version.

Steven T. Byington, "Hebrew Marginalia II: Job 28" (205-7). Makes the greater part of Job 28:1-11 refer to surface exploration and prospecting for metals, even (verse 11) to the sources of the great rivers—rather than to actual mining operations.

BOOK REVIEWS: Old Testament section. Includes noteworthy reviews of Pfeiffer's *Introduction to the Old Testament* (pp. 111-26, W. F. Albright), and of the Cambridge Septuagint fascicle (III, 1) on Tobias, Judith, and Esther (pp. 130-36, C. C. Torrey).

Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 1, 1942. William A. Irwin, "The Psalm of Habakkuk" (10-40). Institutes a comparison of the language in Habacuc 3 with that of tablet four of the Babylonian 'creation epic,' concluding to an outright dependence of Habacuc on the Babylonian poem as its literary source. Then examines in great detail the textual state of the chapter. Next gives a critique of the parallels found by Cassuto and Gaster between Habacuc 3 and the material from Ras Shamra, insisting that the main line of thought in the Hebrew poem is dependent not on Syro-Canaanite sources, but on the specific Babylonian work cited. A likelihood of pre-exilic origin for the chapter is stated.

A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King-List from Khorsabad" (247-306). A long study on the still unpublished and very extensive list of Assyrian kings found in the 1923-33 excavations of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The article treats the kings of the earliest periods down to a point in the seventeenth century B.C. It is clearly very far from exhausting the interest of the document, and, in fact, leaves scholars still waiting for many of the things they would most like to know about its text.

William F. Edgerton, "Chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty" (307-14). Accepts Sesostris III as the ruler whose name is to be supplied in a text giving a dated heliacal rising of Sothis. This point, recently questioned, depends on the testimony of competent editors regarding the identity of a particular scribe as evidenced by his handwriting. Pursuing the problems of twelfth-dynasty dating, Edgerton concludes with a table giving for general purposes the probable dating of *ca.* 1989-1776 B.C. for the dynasty as a whole.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 62, 1942. Frank R. Blake, "Studies in Semitic Grammar" (109-18). A number of points ranging over the entire field, some few with a bearing on Hebrew.

Journal of Theological Studies, 43, 1942. A. V. Billen, "The Hexaplaric Element in the LXX Version of Judges" (12-19). Divides the LXX text-tradition of Judges into four manuscript groups. Codex B gives a text in some respects later than Origen. In a group headed by K, Z, and the Old Latin, a number of cursives usually preserve the pre-Hexaplaric text. Combining evidence from this group with an examination of M.T., Billen restores the difficult Judges 5:28 to read, "Through the window there peered forth his mother, looking for those returning with Sisera."

Theological Studies, 3, 1942. James E. Coleran, S.J., 'Current Theology : Sacred Scripture" (137-39). Resumé of a large number of recent articles on Genesis 3:15.

Theologische Revue, 40, 1941. Review (coll. 10-12) by H. Bückers, C.Ss.R., of *Der Ewigkeitsbegriff im Alten Testament,* by Johannes Schmidt (Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen, 13, 5, Münster i. W., 1940, pp. 187). Schmidt's study, not likely to be available here for some time, deals first with the terminology regarding eternity in Old Testament Hebrew. It then examines the eternity of God under the headings, eternal God, eternal King, eternal Kingdom; and it treats of the eternal covenant with Israel, distinguishing an absolute and a conditional form of it. Under man's relations to eternity, the language of Proverbs, with its use of hyperbole in statements regarding earthly life and kingship, is studied in detail. The meaning of the divine name Yahweh and the problems of Old Testament eschatology are discussed anew.

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 48, 1941. Anton Jirku, "Der Name der palästinischen Stadt *Bet-še'an* und seine ägyptische Wiedergabe" (49-52). Holds to an original *Beth-Saḥan, Beth-Šan,* "Temple of (the serpent-god) Šan," against the apparent Hebrew etymology, "House of rest," and Albright's preference for *Beth-Šᵉ'ōl.*

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 58 (N.F. 17), 1941. Joachim Begrich, "*Sōfēr* und *Mazkīr.* Ein Beitrag zur inneren Geschichte des davidischen-salomonischen Grossreiches und des Königreiches Juda" (1-29). Examines the lists of royal functionaries under David and Solomon (2 Sam. 8:16-18; 20:23-26; 3 Kings 4:1-8) with later evidence from Juda. This study, presented orally as early as 1932, has been employed by K. Leimbach in his commentary (1936) on Samuel; and R. de Vaux, O.P., has published an article in *Revue Biblique,* 58, 1939, covering much the same ground. The functions of *sōfēr* and *mazkīr* are seen to begin in Israel under David, and to be patterned on Egyptian models, both for the titles and for the duties involved. *Mazkīr* must be rendered as "herald" or in some equivalent way; the notion of "recorder" of the king, based on the etymology, is an erroneous one. The functions of this officer would include regulating court ceremonial, promulgating royal edicts, establishing state officials in their posts and outlining for them their duties. Begrich sees Egyptian influence also in the use of *śārīm* (compare

Egyptian *śr.w*) as a generic term for the high officials of the kingdom. He differs from DeVaux in seeing only a post-Solomonic and partial correspondence between the officer *'ᵃšer 'al ha-bayit* and the Egyptian vizier. David clearly had no vizier, but exercised the functions involved personally; in the Judean kingdom the *'ᵃšer 'al ha-bayit* was normally a prince of the reigning dynasty.

Paul Humbert, "Die literarische Zweiheit des Priester-Codex in der Genesis" (30-56). The article is subtitled and explained as strictly a critical examination of the thesis of a twofold 'P' in Genesis proffered by Gerhard von Rad in his *Die Priesterschaft im Hexateuch* (1934). Humbert concludes that the great majority of the doublets alleged to exist in the 'priestly' material is "illusory"; there are expansions and additions to the text, but there is no true duplication of sources.

Kurt Möhlenbrink, "Sauls Ammoniterfeldzug und Samuels Beitrag zum Königtum des Saul" (57-70). An elaborate speculation, based on the supposition that Saul, in his conflict with Ammon, acted as the leader of a three-tribe amphictyony with its center beside the Jordan at Gilgal. Samuel, on the other hand, was an Ephraimite connected with the priesthood of the twelve-tribe amphictyony centered at Shilo (like Josue, who founded the federation). At Samuel's bidding, the other tribes west of Jordan entered into a purely opportunist combination with Saul for the conflict with outside enemies. Only among the original followers of Saul, in Reuben, Gad and Benjamin, was there any thought of a Saul dynasty. Samuel's break with Saul came when the latter refused to accept the priesthood of the twelve-tribe compact as his own in Gilgal. The study presents only one aspect of the sweeping theories Möhlenbrink shares with Alt, Noth and others, regarding the early period of Israel's national life.

Wilhelm Reiss, " 'Gott nicht Kennen' im Alten Testament" (70-98). Examines the terms involved. Then classifies the usage thus:— 1) Since God is known to Israel by revelation, actual ignorance of Him is beyond the scope of the biblical writers. In such a sense, Israel is said not to know false gods, because from them no revelation has come. 2) God is known in Israel as the only, strong God of the people; not to believe in God's might after He has revealed Himself is, in consequence, spoken of as not knowing God. 3) God is known by following His will. In this concept, the idea of a marriage-covenant relationship is stressed by the prophets; and not to know God is consequently connected either with leaving Him for false gods, or with disobedience to His known will. 4) God in Himself, and in the wonders of His providence, is beyond any adequate comprehension by man; in this philosophical sense, man cannot begin to know God, but is reduced to continuous wonder and awe. Knowledge of God can come from Him alone, but the people are bound to heed Him and to seek for Him; when they do not know Him, their leaders are especially culpable. God answers and is known when the people are worthy of it; otherwise He is said to "hide His face" or to "forget" men.

O. Procksch, "Fürst und Priester bei Hesekiel" (99-133). Treats Ezech., chps. 40–48. A detailed study of the critico-analytical sort leads to the rejection of several sections as not the work of the prophet. Procksch then affirms that the concepts held by Ezechiel of prince and prophet were altered, perhaps in the interval 537-520 B.C., to meet the interests of the Sadokite high priests.

Masao Sekine, "Das Wesen des althebräischen Verbalausdrucks" (133-41). Maintains that the introduction of a genuine time-element into the tense system in later (Mishnaic, &c.) Hebrew is the result of a transition from subjectivity to objectivity of viewpoint. Hence rather a psychological than a logical approach is required to explain the earlier uses of 'perfect' and 'imperfect.' Taking ידע as an instance, Sekine suggests that it shows a clear tendency to prefer imperfect forms when used in negative statements. He contrasts the "open" concept expressed by the imperfect with the "closed" concept which the perfect conveys, and from this standpoint tries to explain the cases which cause difficulty for grammarians on either the time or the aspect-of-action theories.

R. Gyllenberg, "Die Bedeutung des Wortes Sela" (153-56). The *sela* would have served originally as a marker to indicate that what follows it was intended to be sung by a chorus, as opposed to the solo voice.

Bertrand Mimolong, "Zu Rut 2:7" (156-58). Renders the conluding phrase, "that she should once more rest at home is a trifle."

Arnold Gustavs, "Der Gott Ḫabiru in Kerkuk" (158-59). The personal name Ḫabira, for which Gustavs gives generous documentation, is taken to be an abbreviation for Ḫabirṭilla. In this case, as in a document from Aššur, Ḫabiru would be the name of a God.

Albrecht Alt, "Ein ägyptische Gegenstück zu Ex. 3:14" (159-60). In a recently studied manuscript of the well-known 'Instruction for King Merikare' a reading has been found that remotely resembles the grammatical structure of the biblical אהיה אשר אהיה.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Sylvester J. Saller, O.F.M., *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo.* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1941). Part I, The Text. Pp. 371. Part II, The Plates. Plates 160. (Limited publication; no price given).

This work is numbered as the first of a series called the *Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanorum.* It presents the final and complete report on the excavations that were undertaken on the traditional site of Mount Nebo in Transjordania during the three expeditions of 1933, 1935, and 1937 under the auspices of the Biblical School of the Franciscan Fathers of Jerusalem. Both the excavations themselves and this report about them have been made along the most strictly scientific lines of modern archaeology and represent an eminently noteworthy achievement of modern Catholic scholarship.

The ruins on this site, which is about midway between Hesbân and Mâdabã at the edge of the plateau overlooking the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea, had been known and visited for a long time, but had never before been systematically explored and studied. These excavations prove that this place was first occupied by Christian monks in the fourth century. The earliest buildings include a little group of cells and a small church of the form that is technically known as a "cella trichora." The remains of these buildings agree quite well with the description of the sanctuary on Mount Nebo that Aetheria has left us in her "Peregrinatio" towards the end of the fourth century. Some time during the following century the small church was transformed into a large, magnificent basilica, which was surrounded by an extensive complex of monastic buildings together with a hospice for pilgrims. This is, undoubtedly, the same structure as that of which we have an interesting description in the biography of Peter the Iberian (end of fifth or beginning of sixth century). It was severely damaged, probably by an earthquake, and rebuilt at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century. One of the mosaic inscriptions referring to these restorations is dated 597 A.D. The site was abandoned in the eighth century, as shown by the lack of coins later than the Ummayid period (661-750 A.D.).

Any one not familiar with the Christian art and architecture of the Near East during the Byzantine period will be surprised at the marvelously beautiful mosaic pavements of the basilica and its side-chapels that are so well described and so excellently reproduced in photography in the text and plates of this work. But the author, who shows great erudition in pointing out similar motifs in other monuments of early Christian art in Palestine, prefers to consider all this as of secondary importance. According to him, "the chief significance of these monuments on Mount Nebo is the fact that they serve to indicate, so to say, the stage on which was enacted the last scene in the earthly career of the greatest prophet of the Old Testament; they mark the place of the death and burial of Moses; this was the fact that attracted the monks and pilgrims to Mount Nebo in ancient times; it is today the chief attraction of Mount Nebo" (p. 353). Still, this seems stretching the point a bit too far. These excavations do indeed prove beyond all doubt that this is the very site that was held in the fourth and following centuries as the Mount Nebo of Deuteronomy. But that is not quite the same as proving that this fourth century tradition goes all the way back to the time of Moses. The author is much nearer the truth when he says, "The choice of this site for such extensive buildings may have been due to more than one reason; it is, however, not improbable that the marvelous view from this spot was one of the determining factors" (p. 5).

In fact, nothing at all referring to Moses was discovered in the excavations; here was simply a typical early Christian basilica and monastery; although it is quite possible that some of the mural mosaics, which are now found only in scattered fragments, may have shown scenes from the life of Moses. However, there is one unique thing in the sanctuary of the basilica: a solid stone platform of no known use, unless it be considered identical with the cenotaph which the pilgrims used to venerate as "the Memorial of Moses," and which served to mark the place of his burial. The monks had rather ingenious ways of harmonizing this tradition with the statement of Deut. 34:6, that the Lord "buried him in the valley of the land of Moab over against Phogor: and no man hath known of his sepulchre until this present day."

About two dozen Greek inscriptions, a few Arabic graffiti, and, surprisingly enough, eight fragments with Samaritan characters on them were found in the excavations. Unfortunately the Samaritan inscription is too poorly preserved to be read with any certainty. It is not even sure whether these fragments are from one or from several inscriptions. Fr. Saller thinks he finds in some of the words a quotation from Deut. 18:18-20 (pp. 272 ff). But it seems doubtful that the words are Hebrew, as the author assumes, and not rather Aramaic. Moreover, the author speaks of a "Samaritan occupation, possibly in the sixth century A.D." (p. 351). But it is hardly possible that the weak little group of the Samaritans could have captured the monastery from the monks and "occupied" it for some time. It seems more probable that the Greek-speaking monks allowed the Samaritan inscription(s) to be placed there as a sort of votive offering, either because it came from Christian Samaritans or because Christ's friendly attitude towards the Samaritans induced the monks to grant this favor. In any case, it is a well-known fact that the Samaritans have always had an immense veneration for Moses.

The site where these excavations were made is known to the Arab natives as "Siyâgha." Fr. Saller explains this as derived from the Aramaic (Syriac) word for monastery, "siayâga" (pp. 116 f). At first sight this seems quite plausible. But after all, it does seem somewhat strange that Arabs should call a Greek monastery by a Syriac name; and besides, the "gh" in "Siyâgha" is no doubt used to represent the sound of "ghain" which has no relationship to "gimel," except in appearances in the English transcription of these letters. Aramaic "siayâga" would be pronounced in modern Palestinian Arabic as "siyâḍṣha."

LOUIS HARTMAN, C.SS.R.

JOHN E. STEINMUELLER, S.T.D., S.S.L., *A Companion to Scripture Studies* (New York: Joseph Wagner Inc., 1942). Pp. 319. $285.

Under the name of higher criticism, a most destructive process of discrediting the authority and misrepresenting the truth of the books of Holy Scripture has been going on for more than a century. Every book of the Bible has been mistreated and caricatured to such an extent that nowadays the average non-Catholic reader hesitates to accept any writing of the Old or the New Testament as authentic or trustworthy. In detail, and as a whole, the narrative parts of the Bible have been treated as legendary and fictitious. The critics would have us believe that highpriests and prophets, acting in God's name, have foisted on a highly credulous nation first one code and then another; and one redactor after another was allowed to tamper at will with writings, which the Jewish people believed to be sacred and inspired. To invest the codes with Mosaic authority, the name of Israel's great leader was freely used in the enactments, and the history of Exodus and Numbers was invented to supply a popular historical background. The historic thread is carried on through Josue, Judges, Kings, and Paralipomenon; but the narrative, as it stands, is far removed from the record of events as they actually occurred.

In Catholic circles, the Sacred Scriptures are invested with an authority which no criticism can diminish. We do not need to wait for critics to come to an agreement on how many revisions the Pentateuch, or the Synoptic Gospels, underwent before they reached their present form. But, on the other hand, we may not ignore this work of destruction of the higher critics, nor evade the duty which God imposes upon us to defend His inspired word from attack. The gratuitous assumptions, which so frequently pervade the methods and determine the results of modern radical criticism, must not be left unchallenged, lest the faithful be deceived by this appearance of scholarship and grow weak in their faith.

The present work is a most useful guide for anyone, who wishes to know the attitude of Catholic scholars on such perplexing questions as the authorship, date, integrity, and historical value of the books of the Old Testament. The author collects and summarizes in a clear and forceful manner those opinions, which are fully endorsed by the Church. In addition, he presents the other side, and the reasons on which that side relies. From the manner of presentation, no doubt ever lingers in the mind of the student, which opinion most nearly conforms to the authoritative utterances of the Holy See. Naturally, the discussion of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is carried to a much greater length than similar discussion of the authenticity of the other Old Testament writings; yet a clear and definite statement is given on whether or not the author of any particular book is known, and on the approximate date of its appearance.

The author's primary consideration throughout the work has been to give that information, which the average reader of Holy Scripture is most likely to desire, and to present it in such a form that it will not mislead nor perplex him. A great merit of the book are the clear and appropriate headings for every section, and the sub-titles that are furnished for many paragraphs. There is a brief discussion of Old Testament poetry, and a similar explanation of prophecy. Copious references to the latest and best literature are found throughout the work for collateral and supplementary reading. And at the end of the book we find seven appendices that deal with chronological data; and finally an excellent topical index. Opinions will differ as to the relative importance of the topics that had to be treated, and the proportion of space that had to be assigned to different divisions and sections, yet as a text-book for seminary students its utility is unquestionable, and as a handy reference book for the general reader of Holy Scripture its value is very great.

HENRY WILLMERING, S.J.

SAMUEL M. SEGEL, *The Sabbath Book* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1942). Pp. xv, 238. $3.00.

This is a book about the Sabbath: hence the title: *The Sabbath Book.* In fact, to quote the author, "this work is the first to present in English a complete account of the Sabbath, its significance in Jewish life and its theological implications." This reviewer doubts whether the book in question is "a complete account of the Sabbath"; that the book is an account of the Sabbath in rabbinical literature cannot be denied, but that it is a "complete" account of the Sabbath, even in rabbinical literature, is open to question. The outline of the contents would seem to verify the author's contention that he is writing a complete account in English of the Sabbath, but the text of the book gives the impression of a collection of quotations from various Jewish sources.

After a brief introduction entitled "The Unchanging Sabbath in a Changing World," the author gives in Book One, The Story of the Sabbath. This story is nothing else but a detailed explanation of the ritual to be observed during the various stages of the Sabbath: first the advent of the Sabbath, then Friday—Prologue to the Sabbath; Friday night—Sabbath eve; Saturday—the Sabbath Day; Saturday night—The End of the Sabbath. As an illustration of the author's method, a passage chosen at random follows; this is taken from the section headed Friday—Prologue to the Sabbath, under the subtitle Ushering in the Sabbath (page 18):

> In Talmudic days, the coming of the Sabbath was announced late Friday afternoon, by blowing the Shofar six times. The first sound of the Shofar was a call to stop all work in the fields. It was the signal for the Jewish farmer in the outlying districts. The farmers then stopped their work and those nearer the towns would wait for those farther away; then all would march to the city together. The second sound of the Shofar was a signal to close all stores and shops in the cities. The third call reminded the people to kindle the lights and to have all things for the Sabbath in their proper places. After a few minutes three additional sounds of the Shofar announced the actual starting of the Sabbath.

Another page is then devoted to the origin of the custom of blowing the Shofar, and to other usages in different periods of Jewish history and in different Jewish communities.

The Second Book is devoted to Sabbath Legends, all calculated to show the favors and even miracles that the observance of the Sabbath merited. This is followed in Book Three by a discussion of the Sabbath in Jewish Theology; by Jewish Theology is meant the doctrine of the rabbis. Note for example on page 167 the explanation of Genesis 2:1-3:

> This passage, as rabbinically interpreted, implies that God created daily, during the first week of Creation, three different objects. On Friday, He created six objects—three for Friday, and three for the Sabbath. For God would not work on the Sabbath. Adam and Eve, as well as the rest of the animal world, were the last objects of Creation.
>
> Because of the Sabbath, some of the objects were left unfinished. Originally evil spirits were to be given physical bodies. But the Sabbath arrived, and the evil spirits remained discarnate entities. It is for this reason that these spirits mingle with human beings and have some human characteristics.

Book Four deals with the Sabbath, Past and Present. In this book it is interesting to read reference to Christ and his disputes with the Jews concerning the Sabbath.

> In the New Testament, the disciples plucked and rubbed ears of corn on the Sabbath. Thus they violated a Talmudic, Sabbath law. The defense of Jesus assumes that the disciples were in danger of dying of starvation, and he charges his critics with having neglected charity.

The saying of Jesus that the "Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," is a free translation of the Mekilta's comment on Exodus 31:13: "The Sabbath is given unto you, you are not delivered unto the Sabbath."

In the case of the blind man whose sight was restored, the important point involved is the use of magic in the restoration of sight, and not the incidental violation of the Sabbath; for that violation might have been justified on the ground that life was in danger.

The author goes on to point out that Christ and his disciples observed the Sabbath, but that later on "with the rise of non-Jewish Christian communities, the problem of Sabbath observance became acute under the radical preachings of Paul." It is this latter, according to the author, who is responsible for the neglect of the Sabbath by Christians. These opinions or rather interpretations are not merely the author's; in fact he refers to "Oneg Shabbath by Reuben Haski Katz." Refutation of such interpretations is not needed. It is impossible however to pass over the attitude that is reflected to Christ in these passages; the modern Jew seems to feel much more kindly towards Him than the Jew contemporary with Christ.

There is a one page Glossary of Hebrew terms, followed by Notes. These notes are references to the actual text, and are placed at the end of the book rather than at the bottom of each page. The notes are very sparse; by that is meant that there is no explanation of the sources, neither is there any key to the various abbreviations used. As an example here are several notes:

Megillah 15a
Pesikta Rabbati, 23, p.115b, ed.Friedmann
Tur. Orah Hayyim, Hil.Shab., Sec. 250; see Talmud Sab.,119a

From this it is impossible to gather whether the author is using primary or secondary sources. After the notes is found a bibliography for home and school; and an Index closes the book.

There is no doubt in this reviewer's mind that the book is primarily intended for Jewish readers, and that the author is convinced, or at least is trying to convince himself and his readers, of the paramount importance of the Sabbath in the revitalization of Jewry. The author claims "to have spared no effort in tracing and analyzing biblical, historical, rabbinical, cabalistic and traditional sources." This is doubted after a careful reading of the book; nowhere does the author give any evidence of analyzing his sources. In a word the author does not give us a scientific treatise of the Sabbath; rather he begins with the *a priori* conception of the vital force of the Sabbath in the history of Judaism, and then instead of proving his conception, merely gathers together a vast number of detailed explanations of the various phases of the Sabbath ritual.

G. H. GUYOT, C.M.

CAREY L. DANIEL, *The Bible's Seeming Contradictions* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1942) Pp. 155. Price $1.00.

In this little work Mr. Daniel proposes to deal with the "Biblical Problem." Considering the scope of his subject it is rather disappointing to find that he does not give us the principles upon which he bases the 'solutions' to his 101 paradoxes. This subtracts considerably from whatever value the work might have.

Examining the book in detail, one discovers that Mr. Daniel has few set principles upon which to resolve his "seeming contradictions," and many of these seem to become even more contradictory after the so-called solutions have been given.

The contradictions which he has chosen to reconcile are of three kinds: scientific, religious, and historical. Naturally we cannot expect to find a comprehensive treatment of any one problem when 155 pages deal with 101 contradictions.

The only scientific problem he mentions is that of light before the sun (p. 84; Gen. 1:3-5). In solving this he fails to state that the Bible is essentially a religious book in which there is no scientific teaching: that when Moses treated of physical phenomena he did not use the scientific terminology of technicians, but rather employed popular language which was accomodated to the ideas of his age: that he did not intend to treat of the universe as it is intrinsically constituted, but rather wrote of these things as they appeared to the senses. Mr. Daniel does not explain to us the Jewish idea of light: that it was independent of the sun, since light appeared before the sun in the morning and remained for some little time after the sun has disappeared in the evening (Job, 38:12-15,19,20). His solution is based on the theory of Transformism (of which Moses and the Jews knew nothing) and on the Sun of Justice who is the source of all light (about whom the sacred author was not speaking).

In treating the problem of incest (p. 86) the author compares Gen. 4:17, "And Cain knew his wife . . . ," with Lev. 20:17, "And if a man shall take his sister, his father's daughter, or his mother's daughter . . . . it is a wicked thing, etc." He assumes that Cain married his sister. In reconciling these two texts Mr. Daniel says that "the antediluvians lived many times longer than we do today . . . . and that 'there were giants on the earth.' All of this indicates that the antediluvians were a different human species with a different physical make-up from all people of succeeding generations. We cannot therefore take the laws and conditions prevailing today or even in the days of Moses and apply them to that ancient civilization." What was the nature of this "different human species?" How could this "different human species" generate the human species existing today?

According to the author, Mk. 2:7, "... who can forgive sins but God only?" seems to contradict Jn. 20:23, "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." Where is the contradiction? In Mk. 2:7 the sacred author gives us the opinion of the Scribes. In Jn. 20:23 we have the word of God himself spoken by Christ. When the inspired author quotes another (as in Mk. 2:7) he does not necessarily approve the quotation. If he does not approve it either explicitly or implicitly, then we have only to accept the fact that the quotation was made and to judge the truth of the quotation by other standards. The Scribes erroneously thought that God would not entrust the forgiving of sins to man. In Jn. 20:23 Christ corrects this mistaken notion and gives the Apostles and their successors this very power of forgiving sin. However, according to Mr. Daniel, Christ did not mean what he said: instead, he meant what Mr. Daniel thought he should have said: "Whoever you lead to the remission of their sins shall be forgiven, and whoever you leave in ignorance of the gospel will remain in their sins" (p. 120). What are we to believe: what Christ said or what Mr. Daniel thought he should have said?

These are fair samples of Mr. Daniel's "Harmonized Contradictions." The major part of his explanations leave the reader more confused than before. All this is due, we think, to a want of principles in solving apparent contradictions.

In conclusion we may say that the author oftimes stoops to vituperation. Speaking of the forgiveness of sin (p. 120), Mr. Daniel says, "Only the rank presumption of the Roman Priesthood, however, could induce a man to claim that he has the soul-saving power (to forgive sin) within himself." And again, trying to explain the name "Father" forbidden and assumed (p. 129), Mr. Daniel says that Christ forbade the people to apply it to the Pharisees. "They," he states, "had come to be regarded with the same awe and reverence that is enjoyed today by the Roman Catholic Papacy." These excerpts give one a good cross section of the book's calibre.

Although he professes the divinity of Christ and the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch, most of his religious beliefs are unorthodox. There is one point we detect which might be said in favor of this book: some of the contradictions are well chosen. Few of them are well solved.

W. J. KENNEALY, C.M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Some of these may be reviewed in subsequent issues)

The American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Conn.:
The Annual of The American School of Oriental Research. Volume XX. For 1940-1941. Editors for the Trustees by Millar Burrows and E. A. Speiser. Introduction to Hurrian. By E. A. Speiser. 1941. Pp. xxxi, 230.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, N. Y.:
Jesus in the Light of History. By A. T. Olmstead. 1942. Pp. XI, 274. $2.75.

Hebrew Union College Press, Cincinnati, Ohio:
The Social Background of the Old Testament. By David Jacobson. 1942. Pp. xi, 327. $2.00.

Columbia University Press, New York, N. Y.:
The Bible is Human. A Study in Secular History. By Louis Wallis. 1942. Pp. xvi, 330. $2.50.

The Jewish Publication Society of America, Phila., Pa.:
The Jews In Spain. Their Social, Political and Cultural Life during the Middle Ages. Volume One. A Political-Economic Study. 1942. Pp. xxxi, 286. Volume Two. A Social-Cultural Study. By Abraham A. Neuman. Pp. ix, 399. $5.00 per Set.

St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, N. J.:
Addresses and Sermons (1938-1942). By the Most Rev. Amleto Giovanni Cicognani. 1942. Pp. ix, 404. $2.50.

Radio Replies, St. Paul, Minn.:
Quizzes on the Episcopal and Anglican Churches. By Rumble and Carty. 1942. Pp. 38.

Lawrence N. Daleiden & Co., Chicago, Ill.:
Novena to Our Lady of Victory. Compiled from approved sources and arranged for Congregational use by Rev. Raymond A. Punda. 1942. Pp. 32.

Salvatorian Seminary, St. Nazianz, Wisconsin:
Priests Saturday Series. Booklet 3: Priest's Saturday and the Sick. Pp. 40. Booklet 4: Priest's Saturday and the Children. Pp. 32. Booklet 5: Priest's Saturday and Catholic Action. Pp. 22. By the Rev. Winfrid Herbst, S.D.S. 1942.

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.:
A History of Early Christian Literature. By Edgar J. Goodspeed. 1942. Pp. XIII, 324. $2.50.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc., New York, N.Y.:
Toward Brotherhood. Annual Report 1942 of the President of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. 1942. Pp. 28.

Inter-Religious Cooperation in Great Britain. By Thomas F. Doyle. 1942. Pp. 24.

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ENCYCLICAL *PROVIDENTISSIMUS DEUS*

In accordance with our previously announced intention and in compliance with the express wish of the American Catholic Biblical Association we are dedicating this number to a commemoration of the *Providentissimus Deus* and devoting the greater part of its pages to the consideration of this important encyclical. It was clear to us from the outset that the momentous character of this papal pronouncement on the Catholic attitude towards Sacred Scripture could not be adequately appreciated if we confined ourselves merely to an exposition of its contents, without portraying its historical background and its subsequent influence on scriptural thought in the Church. Accordingly, we secured the collaboration of three competent scholars to present the encyclical from this threefold viewpoint. This has resulted in some slight overlapping, which, however, does not involve wearisome repetition of the same topics. The individual, independent value of each article has suffered no detriment.

Fr. Anthony C. Cotter, S.J., gives us a clear, succinct, well-documented and comprehensive account of the controversies which agitated the minds of Catholics shortly before its appearance and made its publication so timely and so imperative. He shows us how some Catholic scholars in England, France, Germany, and Italy grappled with the problem of biblical inerrancy and how their attempts to solve the question not infrequently constituted unhappy and dangerous concessions to the rationalism rampant in their day. It will not be easy to find a fuller delineation of the so-called Biblical Question in so brief a compass anywhere else.

The difficult task of proposing the doctrine of the encyclical in a summary form has been discharged by Fr. Richard T. Murphy, O.P., with conspicuous success. His discussion of biblical inspiration, inerrancy, and exegesis is characterized by scientific thoroughness, clarity, and literary distinction.

Fr. Stephen J. Hartdegen, O.F.M., has rendered us a signal service by tracing in painstaking detail the far-reaching effects of the encyclical on subsequent scriptural developments in the Catholic Church. The reader will marvel at the profusion of scholarly works which it engendered, at the intensification of Scripture study in our seminaries which it promoted, and at the institutes of advanced biblical study to which it gave rise. The author also considers the various Pontifical Commissions which were founded and the condemnations of certain persons and writings which were issued to conserve and foster the teaching of the *Providentissimus Deus.* Finally, the passages of the *Spiritus Paraclitus* clarifying and amplifying the encyclical of Leo XIII receive due attention.

We feel confident that the articles which we have just reviewed will prove valuable sources of information. Professors will be glad to recommend them to their students; priests will find that they satisfy the queries of the educated laity.

They show the Catholic and the non-Catholic world why we treasure the *Providentissimus Deus.* At a time when Catholic minds were darkened and harassed by doubt, when centrifugal forces within the Church threatened to impair its traditional teaching on the inspiration and inerrancy of the Scriptures, the encyclical came like a beacon of light, dissipating the darkness, illuminating the truth, outlining the dangerous rocks, and charting a channel which led to peace and progress. It was the act of a wise Pontiff, keenly sensitive to the needs of his day and able to express his thought in lucid and forceful language. Above all, it manifested the action of the Divine Paraclete whose guidance will never be lacking to the Church of Christ.

However, we are not merely commemorating the encyclical as a great achievement of our Catholic past. The errors which it repudiates are still prevalent today in some quarters; the doctrines which it enunciates will never be outmoded but will be perennially valid and true. In celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its promulgation, we re-affirm our rejection of these and all other errors of similar import while we solemnly profess our whole-hearted adhesion to these doctrines. We declare our unshaken belief in the inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible; we proclaim that no discovery from any field of modern science will ever be able to upset the immortal teaching of Leo XIII on these topics. We manifest with unalloyed satisfaction our submission and undying loyalty to the magisterial authority of the Church founded upon the imperishable rock of St. Peter.

MICHAEL J. GRUENTHANER, S.J.

THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE ENCYCLICAL *PROVIDENTISSIMUS DEUS*

In the second chapter of the third session, which dealt with *revelation,* the Vatican Council first defined its fact and necessity, and then laid down the Catholic doctrine on its sources. For that it was sufficient to repeat what the Council of Trent had taught. But because some Catholic theologians had since then put forward some erroneous opinions on the *inspiration of the Bible,* the Vatican Council felt obliged to be more explicit on that point. It condemned the opinion that the books of the Bible were inspired because, though originally mere human productions, they had afterward been approved by the Church, or because they contain revelation without error. A third opinion had been that the books of the Bible were inspired because, though originally mere human productions, they were afterward approved by God Himself. The Council did not mention this error in its final decree.

Not content with rejecting error, the Vatican Council positively explained inspiration and canonicity. It defined that the books of the Bible are inspired and canonical because, written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author and as such were given to the Church.[1]

The Vatican Council also repeated the ruling of the Council of Trent concerning the *interpretation of the Bible* and further strengthened it by stating explicitly the principle underlying it. The Church is the *authentic interpreter* of the Bible, and it was for this reason that the Council of Trent had ruled that no one should dare to interpret the Bible against the Church's interpretation or against the unanimous interpretation of the Fathers.[2]

Among Catholics there was no opposition to these decrees. Theologians set to work to study and analyze them and thus gain, if possible, a profounder insight into the nature of inspiration. Thus Cardinal Franzelin placed the ultimate metaphysical essence of inspiration in this that God is the *author of the Bible,* and that therefore in inspiring Scripture He did whatever one must do to become an author.

But soon *new difficulties* arose with the progress of modern rationalism. The "higher critics" had seemingly established the fact that the Bible contained numerous inaccuracies: errors, contradictions, legends, fables, myths. And they did not fail to taunt Catholic scholars that the Vatican decrees obliged every Catholic to regard as divine all statements in the Bible, even when these clearly contradicted sane reason and the assured findings of modern science. On the eve of the encyclical, J. A. Howlett thus concluded an article on "Some Recent Views on Inspiration" (*Dublin Review*, 1893, vol. 113, p. 547): "Many Catholics are uneasy at the progress that is being made in science and history in these days, as if these branches of learning were destined to subvert the Word of God... A restlessness and dread of what is coming prevails outside the Church of God; it is not unnatural that some little of this anxiety should find its way inside the fold."

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[1] Denzinger n. 1787.

[2] Denzinger n. 1788.

But among Catholics the "Biblical Question," as it soon came to be called, did not so much concern the nature of biblical inspiration as *inerrancy,* which the Vatican Council had not touched explicitly. And as the authority of the higher critics kept growing apace, the general problem appeared thus to some Catholic scholars: How can errors in the Bible be *reconciled* with its inspiration?

The vast majority of Catholic theologians denied flatly that there were any errors in the Bible as written originally, and therefore contended that the problem was worded wrongly. But a few, less familiar with Catholic Tradition, admitted the problem as formulated. "A more or less widely spread tendency has manifested itself of late within the Church to take a looser view of inspiration, to restrict its meaning, we might almost say, to combat the Higher Criticism, by ceding to it the field of battle" (Howlett, in *Dublin Review,* 1894, vol. 115, p. 73). Various *distinctions* were proposed as a solution of the problem thus conceived. Because these gave rise to the encyclical, we shall take a brief glance at them in their chronological order.

1. The first in time was that of *August Rohling* (1839-1931), professor of Old Testament Exegesis at Münster in Westphalia. He published an article on "Biblical Inspiration and its Meaning for Free Investigation" in *Natur und Offenbarung* (1872). Appealing to St. Jerome and St. Augustine for support, he distinguished between matters of faith and morals, historical facts on which faith and morals depend, and profane matters. Restricting inspiration, then, to the first two classes of assertions,

he thought that in *profane* matters the sacred writers had been wholly left to their own resources and could therefore err. He also drew the conclusion that profane matters in the Bible could only be held with human, not with divine faith. Rohling particularly referred to the first chapter of Genesis (v. 2-25), but excepted the creation of man.[3]

Catholic theologians had no difficulty in showing that the theory was untenable, and Rohling abandoned it. But since the article was received sympathetically in some quarters, Card. Franzelin thought it advisable to publish an explicit refutation; he did so in a long appendix to the second edition of his *"De divina Traditione et Scriptura"* (1875), but mentioned no names.[4]

2. Some ten years after Rohling's article, there appeared in France "*Les origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples orientaux*" in 3 vols. (1880-4). Its author was *François Lenormant* (1837-1883), a Catholic layman, who taught archaeology at Paris and who had written monumental works on the history of the ancient Near East. His ideas on biblical inspiration are mainly contained in the Preface to the first volume of *"Les origines"* (tr. as *"Beginnings of History."* N. Y., 1882).

Lenormant's particular problem was a little broader than Rohling's. It was how to reconcile the inspiration of Genesis as a whole with the recent findings of archaeology and the bold pronunciamentos of Old Testament critics. In his solution of the problem he first of all avows his unshaken conviction that there can be no conflict between science and religion. Why not? Because they move on different planes, and because in his many years of study he never came across a single case of real conflict. He also voices his entire submission to the decisions of the Church. But he feels sure that none of these decisions extends inspiration *beyond matters of faith and morals.* He also draws a distinction between inspiration and revelation; everything in the

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[3] L. Fonck, *Der Kampf um die Wahrheit der H. Schrift* (Innsbruck: 1905), p. 53; A. E. Breen, *Introd. to the Study of H. Scripture* (2nd ed., Rochester, N. Y.: 1908), p. 113-4.

[4] Rohling later taught moral theology at Milwaukee (1874-6) and Old Testament Exegesis at Prague. In 1899 he retired from the professor's chair on account of ecclesiastical censure. He wrote valuable and orthodox commentaries on some books of the Bible, but made himself enemies through some antisemitic publications. He died a pious death.

Bible is inspired, he says, but not everything is revelation. These premises seem to him to leave room in Genesis for myths, legends, fables, etc., as long as they help to bring out monotheism, an eternal truth.[5]

Lenormant's hope that his book would escape censure was not well founded. Not only was the book attacked by Catholic exegetes (Lefèbvre, Brucker, Hummelauer), but also placed on the Index (1887) after the author's death.

While Lenormant, who had no name as a theologian, remained without a following, the view that inspiration did not extend beyond matters of faith and morals was then not uncommon in France, as witness another book *"Sur l'origine du monde"* (1884) by *H. Faye,* who denied that profane matters were inspired.[6]

3. A slightly different distinction was introduced by *Cardinal Newman* (1801-1890). In an article "On the Inspiration of the Bible," published in *The Nineteenth Century* (Feb., 1884), he favored restricting inspiration, but proposed a fourfold distinction. It is dogma that Scripture is inspired in matters of faith and morals. It is certain that historical narratives are inspired, because they are closely connected with revelation. Newman is less sure about scientific statements. He excludes inspiration from *obiter dicta,* as when Paul sends greetings at the end of his letters, or writes that he left his cloak at Troas, or when the book of Judith makes Nabuchodonosor king of Nineveh. His reason for this exclusion is that the Bible was not written for the sake of such trifles. And, he argues, such passages not being inspired, may contain error.[7]

Newman's article, summarized, was translated into French and published in two reviews: *Le Correspondant* and *Annales de Philosophie chrétienne.* His views were controverted on the continent by Brucker (*Etudes,* Dec., 1884 and Jan., 1885), Corluy and Schmid, while nearer home Msgr. John H. Healy, later archbishop of Tuam, attacked them in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (April, 1884). Newman answered the latter in a brochure *What is of Obligation for a Catholic to Believe concerning the Inspiration of the Canonical Scriptures* (1884), where he explained his ideas more fully. But as would appear from Howlett's articles quoted above, ten years later English Catholic scholars were not yet sure what exactly the Cardinal meant by his *obiter dicta.*[8]

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[5] Fonck *l.c.* p. 53-9; Chr. Pesch, *De Inspiratione* (Herder, 1925), p. 337-340; H. van Laak, *De S. Scripturae Inspiratione et Inerrantia* (Rome: 1910), p. 184-5; J. Bellamy, *La Théologie Catholique au XIX siècle* (Paris: 1904), p. 80-1; Vacant, *Constitutions du Concile du Vatican* (Paris: 1895), I p. 489, 493; II pp. 60-6; E. Mangenot, in *Dict. de Théol. Cath., s.v.,* Inspiration de l'Ecriture, col. 2187; Breen *l.c.* pp. 114-5.

[6] Fonck, *l.c.*, p. 61.

[7] Pesch, *l.c.*, pp. 335-7; Fonck, *l.c.*, pp. 59-66; van Laak, *l.c.*, pp. 185-6; Vacant, *l.c.*, p. 489, 495-500; J. McDevitt, *Introd. to the Sacred Scerpitures* (2nd ed., 1895), pp. 131-5; J. Duggan, in *Verbum Domini,* 1938 pp. 219-224; Breen, *l.c.*, pp. 115-140, 201-3.

4. A few years after Newman, a Roman doctor of theology, *Salvatore di Bartolo,* propounded a similar distinction in his book *Creteri teologici* (1888), which appeared with high recommendations. Its French translation *Les critères théologiques* (1889) had quite a sale.

Di Bartolo distinguished three *degrees of inspiration.* Matters of faith and morals were written under the highest degree of inspiration, which was at times verbal. Historical facts closely connected with them are intermediate. The lowest degree of inspiration, which does not guarantee inerrancy, is had in details of facts and in non-religious matters (geography, chronology, science, perhaps even philosophy). Errors and inaccuracies in these things would not be due to God, but to His human secretary; God merely permitted them.

The French translator added in a footnote that no one could help recognizing in all this Newman's distinction, though in a modified form. While Newman, to leave room for slight errors, denied inspiration to *obiter dicta,* di Bartolo made inspiration plenary but denied inerrancy to its lowest degree. The translator concluded that the difference was purely theoretical.[9]

Although the Italian original had the imprimatur of the archbishop of Turin, it was placed on the Index (1891); but the second and revised edition (1904) was explicitly permitted by the Roman authorities.

Another Italian, *Giovanni Semeria,* went further than either Newman or di Bartolo. He made the extent of inspiration co-terminous with the *purpose* which God intended in each of the sacred books. What pertains to that purpose is inspired; what is immaterial toward it, God merely permitted to be written. Semeria called for some one of sufficient ability to separate the inspired portions of Holy Writ from the uninspired.

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[8] Wilfrid Ward, in his *Life of Card. Newman* (1912 II p. 502-4), merely mixes up various questions without shedding more light on the term.

[9] Pesch, *l.c.,* pp. 333-5; Vacant, *l.c.,* I pp. 489-490; Howlett, in *Dublin Review,* 1894, vol. 115, p. 72; Breen, *l.c.* pp. 140-2.

5. We now return to France. There the Canon *Jules Didiot*, professor at the Catholic University of Lille, thought it improbable that divine inspiration preserved the sacred writers from all inaccuracies in matters pertaining to *profane history* or the *sciences* (*Logique surnaturelle subjective*, 1891). His main argument was that the authority of the magisterium in interpreting Scripture did not extend to them; God did not make the Bible infallible in matters on which the Church could not be or at least would not pretend to be infallible.

After the encyclical appeared, Didiot wrote an explanation of it (1894); he rallied to the common Catholic doctrine but at the same time proposed a new distinction between inspiration and revelation, which met with general disapproval.[10]

As Didiot had put forward his ideas rather hesitantly, they created no sensation. It was otherwise with Msgr. d'Hulst.

6. *Msgr. Maurice d'Hulst* (1841-1896), Rector of the new Institut Catholique of Paris, published an article on "La Question Biblique" in *Le Correspondant* of Jan. 25, 1893. It claimed to be merely a survey of the views of Catholic biblical scholars then living without passing judgment on their orthodoxy. D'Hulst divided Catholic exegetes into *three classes:* right, left and center. The right wing, the traditionalists and rigorists, defend the absolute inerrancy of Scripture. Those on the left wing, while holding on to plenary inspiration, are yet willing to admit inaccuracies and possibly errors in the Bible; they distinguish between revelation, which necessarily implies truth, and inspiration, which is merely a divine impulse to write. In the center are those who, while admitting the theoretical possibility of errors in the Bible, yet are very slow in pronouncing any definite statement erroneous.

D'Hulst called the second class the *école large*, and claimed that many biblical scholars belonged to it in France, not only among laymen, but also among the clergy. He himself did not actually subscribe to its tenets, but thought that one could accept them and yet be a good Catholic. He based his opinion on two arguments. Supposing the wide acceptance of the theory to be a fact, he argued that it must be unobjectionable from the theological standpoint. This argument was at once refuted by the ever watchful Brucker in *Etudes* of 1893; he denied flatly that the majority of Catholic biblical scholars or even any appreciable number of them favored the views of what d'Hulst called the *école large*. D'Hulst's second argument was based on Rome's silence; though Lenormant's book had been condemned, yet his distinction between revelation and inspiration had since been adopted by many writers, and Rome had said nothing.[11]

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[10] Fonck, *l.c.*, p. 63; Bellamy, *l.c.*, p. 81; Vacant, *l.c.*, I pp. 490, 498, 508-515; Mangenot, *l.c.*, col. 2190, 2237-9.

In the controversy which at once arose in France over d'Hulst's article, *Paoli Savi,* a Barnabite, more or less agreed with the principles of the *école large,* though he was very cautious in his expressions.

D'Hulst professed himself ready to submit his judgment whenever Rome should speak. And so he did. As soon as the encyclical appeared, he not only signed the common document of unreserved submission which the theological Faculty of the Institut sent to the Pope, but also wrote a personal letter in which he thanked him for the encyclical.[12]

7. We must mention one more name, that of the unfortunate priest, *Alfred Loisy* (1857-1940). While preparing for a theological degree at Paris, he was led to the conviction that the parallel narratives of the four Gospels contained numerous contradictions, and he began to suspect that the traditional notion of the *truth of the Bible* could no longer be upheld. The truth of the Bible, he thought, was rather "economical," "proportional," "relative"; and with that kind of truth historical and scientific errors can easily be reconciled.[13] Nevertheless, he was made doctor of theology in 1890, and he kept on lecturing, writing, and publishing. But his liberal views soon discredited him with his ecclesiastical superiors. Seminarians were forbidden to attend his lectures, and his professorship was withdrawn from him. However, at the time of Leo's encyclical, Loisy was not yet enough of an authority on biblical matters, nor were his novel

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[11] Pesch, *l.c.*, pp. 340-3; Fonck, *l.c.*, pp. 63-8; van Laak, *l.c.*, pp. 186-7; Bellamy, *l.c.*, pp. 82-4; Vacant, *l.c.*, I pp. 490-1, 493; Mangenot, *l.c.*, col. 2188-9; Breen, *l.c.*, pp. 143-9.

[12] Mangenot, *l.c.*, col. 2190; S. M. Brandi, *La Question Biblique* pp. 228-231.

[13] Pesch, *l.c.*, pp. 366-7; Mangenot, *l.c.*, col. 2191-2.

opinions sufficiently understood or dangerous to Catholics. Modernism, of which he was the leader, did not get into its stride until afterward. But it needed the strong hand of Leo's successor to crush forever this sinister movement in the Church of God.

If now, in concluding, we return to the problem as formulated by some before the encyclical, we must first of all register once more the solution of the great majority of Catholic biblical scholars at the time. They denied the suppositum; they repeated with all Catholic Tradition that the sacred writers, being inspired throughout by the Holy Ghost, could not err. Those Catholic writers, however, who had forgotten that this was the true Catholic doctrine, had recourse to three different solutions: a) Some said that *not all things* in the Bible were inspired; errors could then be allowed in those things which were not written under divine inspiration. b) Others held on to the traditional doctrine of plenary inspiration but distinguished various *degrees of inspiration,* with the lowest of which error was not incompatible. c) A third opinion distinguished between *revelation* and *inspiration,* the latter not guaranteeing inerrancy.

It was against these three opinions that the encyclical came out, stating emphatically that inspiration may not be restricted to certain parts of Scripture, and that inspiration makes error metaphysically impossible; it also answered the arguments, one by one, by which the writers mentioned had tried to make their solution of the problem plausible; finally it pointed out the correct method by which Catholic scholars may meet the objections of higher critics.

Writing soon after the publication of the encyclical, J. A. Howlett (*Dublin Review,* 1894, vol. 115, p. 73) refrained from censoring the Catholic scholars, recognizing their high and worthy motives and fully appreciating the difficulties which moved them to write as they did. Be it so. But theirs was a method of combating the higher criticism by ceding to it the field of battle, and as theologians (except Lenormant), they should have been familiar with *Catholic Tradition,* which, through all the centuries of its existence, was so unmistakably clear on the plenary inspiration and absolute inerrancy of Scripture.[14]

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[14] Cotter, *Theologia fundamentalis* (1940) p. 594-7, 638-641.

THE TEACHINGS OF THE ENCYCLICAL *PROVIDENTISSIMUS DEUS*

The guiding thread which runs through the remarkable intellectual career of Leo XIII was his burning desire, amounting almost to an obsession, to bring about the reorganization of Catholic studies. The varying fortunes of the Church had left her, as a result of unrelenting confiscations, persecutions, and other trials, almost bereft of any outstanding centers of advanced studies which could command the attention and respect of her foes. Indicative of the change in the tide was the appearance, in 1879, of the great encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, which sounded the call for a return to scholastic philosophy. The Roman Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas was established in October of that year; and 1880 witnessed the beginnings of the Leonine edition of St. Thomas, who on August 4 was declared Patron of Schools. Letters urging the study of the *philosophia perennis* flowed in a steady stream from the pen of this great pontiff to bishops, professors, and writers in all corners of the world.

Unexpectedly practical, Pope Leo XIII in 1881 authorized the establishment of a chair of Thomistic philosophy at the University of Louvain. A few years later there was a quasi-epidemic of University foundations: Laval in Canada, Fribourg in Switzerland, and the Catholic University in Washington, D. C., thus assuring Catholic science of an uninterrupted succession of well-instructed defenders. Few Popes have reared more enduring monuments to their names than these institutions. A letter of October 23, 1878, encouraged the study of history and archaeology, studies which have the magic power of causing stones to speak out their tales and to plead the cause of the Faith. In 1887 Leo urged the diligent study of the natural sciences, and on March 14, 1891, this modern Pope opened the now-famous Vatican Observatory.

As yet however there was one very important branch of study about which the Pope, for all his writings on political, social, and economic matters, had not spoken, and that was the Scriptures. A superficial observer might have concluded that the Pope was resolved to leave that field to the exegetes. Yet it was precisely from this quarter that the fiercest attacks against the Church came, with the result that the faith of many was seriously weakened or destroyed. Consequently, on November 18, 1893, there issued forth from the Vatican the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*. One of the greatest and longest encyclicals written by Leo XIII, it was and is a brilliant exposition of the Catholic position on the Bible. The Sovereign Pontiff, in fulfilling his office as universal Pastor, solicitous for the flock entrusted to his care, thus filled the gap hitherto existing in his public pronouncements. The *Providentissimus* was, as it were, a seal of perfection placed upon the work of doctrinal restoration to which he was dedicated.

In this encyclical the Holy Father remarked that he had long contemplated doing something to stimulate and commend the "noble study of the Sacred Writings and also to impart to Scripture study a direction suitable to the necessities of the time." Briefly he showed the value of the Scriptures, which the Church has always preserved and guarded as she would a treasure. She has always been able to raise up great defenders of this treasure as the need arose—witness the great Fathers and Doctors and commentators of the last nineteen centuries. But the encyclical was not intended to be a mere turning back of the clock; this Pope was too much alive to the urgency of the present for that. He was keenly aware that the Church was being attacked, not by the so-called reformers for whom the Scriptures were "the one source of revelation and the final appeal in matters of faith," and which each man was to interpret as he would,—but by rationalists, true children and inheritors of the older heretics. Private interpretation in our own day has come to its logical term: the denial of any such thing as revelation or inspiration and thus to a denial of such a thing as a sacred book. In an age wherein reason is almost universally held to be the only acceptable and recognized standard of judgment, Leo was not blind to the fact that the events of the Bible were looked upon by some, not as true narratives of real events, but rather as

> Only the forgeries and falsehoods of men; they set down the Scripture narratives as stupid fables and lying stories: the prophecies and the oracles of God are to them either predictions made up after the event or forecasts formed by the light of nature; the miracles and the wonders of God's power are not what they are said to be, but the startling effects of natural law, or else mere tricks and myths.[1]

If such teachings were confined to the brains that conceived them, the net result would be negligible, but unfortunately error and heresy are always driven by a sort of apostolic zeal and filled with an urge to shout from the housetops. Such portentous errors of the new kind of *free learning* strike at the very heart of the Church; yet they are proposed with the utmost assurance and authority, and with all the prestige that generally clusters like a halo around men of science. The campaign is directed particularly against the crowd of the ignorant, and the deadly poison is injected into the unlearned by every possible means; books, pamphlets, newspapers, and addresses. The procedure is most impressive, and the shouting and bold dogmatic assertions have inevitably left their mark. As a result, statements such as the following, which emanate from some of the past presidents of the Federal Council of Churches, are not at all uncommon and occasion no surprise: "No truly educated man can believe in the story of creation as recorded in Genesis. . . No person with a modern outlook can think that the Bible is inspired in the sense that the Fathers of the Church thought it was." Or, from another source: "Supernaturalism is an obsolete word and it stands for an obsolete idea. . . The partition of our world into a natural order overlaid by a supernatural order which keeps breaking through is to a well-instructed mind impossible."[1a] Of late, such remarks as: "The critical and historical method of study . . . has freed us indeed from the dogma of the infallible inspiration of every word of the Old Testament";[2] and "The dogma of an infallible Bible will not indeed stand the slightest examination,"[3] sound a note of unmistakable relief at this release from authority and tradition.

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[1] *Enchiridion Biblicum* (*E.B.*), 85.

From this it is evident that there is today, outside of the Church, a unanimous denial of many things related to the Bible which Catholics take for granted. This is a consequence of the persistent attempt to deny the existence of a supernatural order. Once this is done it is easy to do away with God, and to substitute in His place a god of man-made proportions. Then it is a simple and extremely popular matter to reject the possibility of God's making use of men as His instruments in the composition of the sacred writings,—a rejection prompted by the irrational fear that God would thereby infringe upon man's precious liberty, and would somehow in this movement reduce him to playing the rôle of a robot.

[1a] These two quotations are in Dan Gilbert's "*The Mind of Christ.*"

[2] Foreword of J. Bewer to F. James, *Personalities of the O. T.*, (N. Y.: Scribner, 1939), p. vii.

[3] Kenyon, Sir Frederick G., *The Bible and Archaeology*, (N. Y.: Harpers, 1940), p. 26.

Leo XIII was unmoved by such false fears. Calmly and with the dignity befitting the head of Christendom, he reiterated the Church's belief in and veneration for the Holy Scriptures. He singled out for particular rebuke anyone who endeavored to limit inspiration to some parts of the Bible only, as for example, to those parts which concerned faith and morals; and the same rebuke was administered to those who held that the sacred author could have been guilty of error in his writings. Neither of these opinions had ever formed part of the Catholic tradition, for

> All the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can coexist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true.[4]

This is the ancient faith of the Church, handed down century after century, defined by the Councils of Florence and Trent, and reaffirmed in absolute fashion by that of the Vatican:

> The books of the Old and the New Testament, whole and entire, with all their parts, as enumerated in the decree of the same Council [Trent] and in the ancient Latin Vulgate, are to be received as sacred and canonical. And the Church holds them as sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed by human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority; nor only because they contain revelation without error, but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their Author.[5]

In rejecting the false notions of inspiration, as the Vatican Council does here, the Church indicates the manner in which she understands inspiration and what is the teaching of her ordinary magisterium. However, the Church has still not made an explicit pronouncement concerning the nature of inspiration. The fact is certain and defined, and the faithful are not at liberty to accept or reject it at will, for belief in inspiration forms a part of the Church's deposit of faith. It is something Catholics must believe in; there is no picking and choosing in the matter. They must believe that God is the author of the Scriptures, which are inspired and absolutely free from error.

[4] *E.B.*, 109.

[5] *E.B.*, 62, quoted here in its entirety by Leo, *E.B.* 110.

God is somehow the author of the seventy-three books of the Old and New Testaments. The actual composition of these books was due to certain men (whose names we often know) who are also authors of the various books. God then is not the only author of the Bible, although He is the author of all of it and of everything in it.

Auctor principalis Scripturae sacrae est Spiritus Sanctus.... Homo autem fuit auctor instrumentalis.[6] Thus exactly and succinctly does St. Thomas describe scriptural inspiration. A principal efficient cause operates in virtue of its own form, producing an effect which bears the imprint of that form, e.g., water on a stove owes its hotness to the heat of the fire. An instrumental cause, however, does not act in virtue of its form, but only because of the movement imparted to it by the principal cause which moves it. The resultant effect reflects not so much the instrument as it does the principal agent.[7] Not that the instruments are deprived of their forms in the sense that those forms are completely inactive and have no part in what takes place—for every instrument exercises its *own* proper activity as well as *another,* inasmuch as it operates as an instrument of a higher cause. A razor for example cuts, it does not shave, by reason of its own form. It shaves only because a principal cause puts it to that work. Only when the instrument exercises its own proper function may we speak of perfect instrumental action.[8]

We have only to apply to the action of God writing the Scriptures what has been said of principal causes, and to the action of the human authors writing the Scriptures what was said of instrumental causes, to obtain a comprehensive notion of biblical inspiration.

God the principal author of the Scriptures, operating through His divine nature, produces an effect, the written Scriptures, which resemble Him as any effect resembles its cause, or any book its author. He is the author because He moved the human authors to write these books; they acted as His instruments in the production of this effect.

Now instruments do not act precisely as instruments in virtue of their own forms, but in virtue of the movement given, extended, imparted to them by the principal cause. In this operation, men, as instruments, are elevated and moved to produce an effect which is utterly beyond their power to produce by themselves, namely, a book which traces back not only to the instrument but to God as the author—a divine and human book, the Scriptures. There is of course a vast difference between the ordinary motion by which God, as the Author of nature, moves all things and the motion of inspiration. In the first case God moves creatures as secondary principal causes, not as instrumental causes. In the latter case, however, we have to do with a special movement. It is special, first of all because inspiration is a *supernatural* movement of grace, and secondly because under it the recipient acts not as a principal, but as an *instrumental* cause. It is in virtue of this particular grace that God may be called the Author of the written Scriptures.

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[6] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Quodlib.,* VII, 14, ad 5um.

[7] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.,* III, q. 62, a. 1.

[8] *Ibid.,* ad 2um.

For St. Thomas, then, scriptural inspiration is a movement of a grace or a participation on the part of the sacred writers in God's power which terminates in a written book. This grace, a *gratia gratis data,* is transitory.[9] The supernatural activity it induces continues only so long as it takes the principal cause (God) to produce the effect wished, i.e., until the similitude of the divine thought, or form, has been reproduced and expressed with exactitude.—But how does this doctrine compare with the teaching of the *Providentissimus Deus?*

After citing the Vatican Council which excluded two untenable notions of inspiration, Leo XIII continued:

> Hence, because the Holy Ghost employed men as His instruments, we cannot therefore say that it was these inspired instruments who, perchance, have fallen into error, and not the primary author.
>
> For by supernatural power, he so moved and impelled them to write —He so assisted them when writing—that the things which He ordered, and those only, they first rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise it could not be said that He was the author of the entire Scripture.[10]

From this it seems clear that Leo intended to explain the nature of inspiration in terms of instrumental causality; indeed, the words *instruments, excitavit* and *movet* add new precision to the declarations of the Councils of Florence, Trent, and the

[9] *Ibid.,* II-II, p. 171, a. 2.

[10] *E.B.,* 110.

Vatican.[11] The Holy Ghost, in taking men for His instruments in writing, impelled and moved them to write, and in all their writing assisted them to put down exactly what God wished, and no more.

The usual objection to the theory of instrumental causality in the matter of biblical inspiration is that it destroys the liberty of the human author. It is, or at one time, was argued that this would lead to the untenable position of mechanical dictation, and to the shackling of the mind and spirit of the human author. With these and similar arguments, the theory was cast into inglorious disrepute from the sixteenth century on, and the theory was not restored to good graces until the nature of instrumental action was once again properly understood. If an instrument is used in such a way as to have an effective part in the result achieved, it must preserve its own nature and operate according to its own form.

In the composition of the Scriptures God used instruments of a special kind. They were *animated* instruments, men with hands and fingers and imaginations which were more or less vivid, memories which were more or less retentive, minds which were keen or slow, and over and above all this, all were endowed with free will. All of these things belong naturally to the human instrument; consequently all of these properties must be preserved under the influx of the Holy Ghost. There would simply be no point in a man's having such faculties if they were all to be rendered inactive and useless the moment God wished to move man. It is no part of divine providence to destroy the nature of things. God moves all things according to their condition: necessary things necessarily, free things freely. He so moves the will as not to determine it of necessity to one of two alternatives, but its movement remains contingent and not necessary.[12]

In inspiration, man is so acted upon by the Holy Ghost that he himself also acts, since he has free will, and God moves free things according to their natures.[13] Just, therefore, *mutatis mutandis*, as a chisel cuts by reason of its sharpness and in the hands of a master produces a work of art, so the human instrument under the motion of inspiration gathers his materials, casts about for thoughts, racks his brain for half-remembered details, paints things with his imagination, and finally writes; in fact he does everything that human authors usually do by reason of their nature;[14] only, since he does all this under the motion of God, as His instrument, the result will be something surpassing the powers of the most consummate word-artist—God's book, as well as his own. In this book there will be nothing the human author has not produced, and absolutely nothing that does not proceed also and primarily from the divine author. In this book those things which God wished to be written down are actually put down in writing exactly as He wished, and they are all, moreover, guaranteed by the divine truthfulness.

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[11] Vosté, *De Divina Inspiratione...*, (Rome; 1932), pp. 46, 51, 81 note (2).

[12] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, I-II, q. 10, a. 4.

[13] *Ibid.*, I-II, q. 68, a. 3, ad 2um; q. 21, a. 4, ad 2um.

An immediate corollary of this is the theory of verbal inspiration. Few conclusions have been more sadly misunderstood, and few are more imperative. It is philosophical nonsense to suppose that when God took men as His instruments in writing the Scriptures, He at some halfway mark abandoned the secondary or instrumental causes to themselves. In that case they would not be God's special instruments, and He would not be the special Author of the Scriptures. The influx which prompted the human authors to write did not cease until the work was done as the divine craftsman wished it to be done, until the last word was safely written down. In this way the whole inspired product is from God moving man, and at the same time is wholly from man moved by God. Whatever the human author writes, he writes as supernaturally elevated and moved and enlightened and helped by God; hence his writings are inspired, and God is the author of the book as well as man. That God should supply the ideas and man the words is a plausible theory, but it would destroy the authorship of God and the instrumentality of man. If God is to be the author, and man the instrumental author with God, then the very words in which the sacred writer expresses himself have been formulated while under the impulse of the Holy Ghost. At no time can an instrument produce anything unless it is under the influence of the principal cause. What the human author did then was, *as God's instrument,* to write down his own thoughts; they were likewise God's. This means that every single word was chosen, freely chosen, by the human author under the constant influence of the Holy Ghost. As Leo XIII put it: "Ita scribentibus adstitit, ut ea omnia, eaque sola, quae ipse iuberet . . . apte infallibili veritate exprimerent: secus, non ipse esset auctor S. S. universae."[15] In a word, verbal inspiration is invoked as a philosophical necessity and in order to safeguard and produce the exact expression of the principal, divine author.

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[14] Pegues, T.-M., "Une Pensée de S. Thomas sur l'Inspiration Scripturaire," in *Rev. Thomiste* III (1895), p. 100, 108-110; Lagrange, M. J., "Inspiration. . . ." in *R.B.* 1896, p. 200.

Much of the confusion concerning verbal inspiration may be traced first of all to what has been well called "a superstitious and wholly unreasonable horror of premotion,"[16] and secondly to a prevailing failure to distinguish carefully between revelation and inspiration. This second point, which alone concerns us here, is of extreme importance, for while everything in the Bible is inspired, not everything in it is revealed. Of the two, revelation is the more perfect form of prophecy, for while under revelation, a person speaks *ex persona Dei;* but under the divine motion known as inspiration, the human author involved does not speak *ex persona Dei, sed ex propria persona, cum adiutorio tamen divini luminis.*[17] In other words, the sacred writer who is inspired only, has received a light in his intellect enabling him to judge with divine certitude the truth of things he already knows; the judgment bears upon knowledge already possessed. A case in point would be St. Luke and his diary, or travel notes. But where there is a communication of new truths, where the recipient is passive under the divine motion, we are dealing with revelation. In inspiration the human author is not passive, but very actively engaged in writing a book. He may never have known that he was all the time acting under the influence of the Holy Ghost and that his judgments were infallibly true because he was making them with God's special help.

This brings us into contact with those who, due to their faulty notion of inspiration, see a stumbling block in the traditional affirmation of the absolute truthfulness of the Bible, especially when this affirmation is confronted with the latest findings and conclusions of modern scholarship. Two authors cited above are emphatically sure that the intolerable dogma of an infallible Bible is now forever banished from the kingdom of thought. Excavations at Niniveh indicate that it was a rather small city, as cities go; but according to Jonas the prophet it would take three days to traverse it. Some of the numbers of the Scriptures, are, it is said, fantastically high, and cannot be maintained after our studies of populations and factors of existence then and now. Dates, especially those in the books of Kings, are considered by them unreliable: witness the impossibility of arriving at a universally acknowledged chronology of the monarchies. 1 Kings 6:1 taken at face value would lead to the position of the Exodus *circa* 1440 B.C., but most of the present day archaeologists argue strongly from their findings that this event must have taken place at a later and lower date. Add to these the other popular difficulties which are the stock-in-trade of all amateur critics and skeptics: Josue and the stopping of the sun; the heavens described as stretched out as a skin and resting on pillars; or the heavens looked upon as a huge brass vault; throughout the Scripture the sun rises and sets; and the hare which "chews a cud" is for that reason reckoned among the unclean animals.

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[15] *E.B.*, 110. Note that this verbal inspiration, which is not dictation, ensures the exact and concrete expression of the truth. "Inspiratio primo et per se res et sententias respicit, *secundario vero, ac propter istas, verba* quatenus sunt veritatis concreta expressio" (Vosté, *op. cit.*, p. 83).—It has to do with the original inspired text, and applies to the versions inasmuch as they faithfully reproduce the original document. Moreover, it is not incompatible with the use of other written documents and secretaries (*E.B.*, 175).

[16] Billot, *De Inspiratione S. Scripturae,* (1922) p. 102, n. 3.

[17] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, II-II, q. 174, a. 2, ad 3um.

In the face of these grave objections the Catholic maintains first of all the fact of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. Science, which deals with matters evident to the senses, can neither prove nor disprove the sphere of the supernatural, wherein inspiration is to be found; but a supernatural organism such as the Church can pronounce upon the fact, rendering its acceptance obligatory upon the faithful. It need hardly be pointed out that this fact, though above reason, is eminently reasonable and fitting.

In the second place, the Catholic supposes that the texts in question are authentic and not corruptions, glosses, or later additions; if the contrary can be shown the difficulty of course disappears. But supposing that the difficulty remains, then the solution is along the following lines. God used human beings as His instruments in the writing of the Bible. He took them as they were—polished, educated, or crude—and by His grace elevated and moved them to conceive, judge, and execute His book and theirs. In so doing He did not destroy, hamper, or hinder His chosen instruments but He did guarantee the truthfulness of their inspired judgments. Not every inspired judgment is a dogma or revealed truth. Inspiration is compatible with opinion, rumor, and the like;[18] all of these things are inspired, for they are certainly part of the canonical Scriptures, but not all of them are revealed. The light which God gives to the sacred writer enables him to form a judgment, wherein alone logical truth, or error, is to be found. The author's judgment, freely formed with God's special help, must be therefore true to the extent that he intends to affirm or teach. What he actually affirms, God affirms, and what he denies, God denies;[19] and he is not always necessarily categorically affirming or denying; for he sometimes may simply be expressing his opinion. In any case, the action of the Holy Ghost would prevent the sacred author from committing any formal error; he cannot ever affirm something to be true which is false, or vice versa. If a scholar should conclude from his studies that the Scriptures erred formally, then he should bear in mind the advice of St. Augustine, which Leo XIII quotes:

> On my own part I confess to your charity that it is only to those books of Scripture which are now called canonical that I have learned to pay such honor and reverence as to believe most firmly that none of their writers has fallen into any error. And if in these books I meet anything which seems contrary to truth, I shall not hesitate to conclude either that the text is faulty, or that the translator has not expressed the meaning of the passage, or that I myself do not understand.[20]

Leo XIII has still more sage advice, applicable to the biblical statements concerning the sun, heavens, or classification of animals. He says that

> The sacred writers, or to speak more accurately, the Holy Ghost 'who spoke by them, did not intend to teach men these things (that is to say, the essential nature of the things of the visible universe), things in no way profitable unto salvation.' Hence they did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are daily used at this day, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses;

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[18] Pesch, Chr., *De Inspiratione S. Scripturae* (Freiburg-i.-B.: 1906), p. 469; Lagrange, M. J., *La Méthode Historique* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1903), p. 105.

[19] cf. *E.B.*, 433; and *R.B.*, 1896, p. 210.

[20] *E.B.*, 112.

and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers—as the Angelic Doctor also reminds us—'went by what sensibly appeared,' or put down what God, speaking to men, signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to.[21]

The Bible, then, is true and not a source of scientific error, because the authors had no intention of teaching scientific truths, and therefore made no absolute affirmations of this nature. The Holy Ghost moved them, but did not make scientists out of them. Whenever they mentioned the firmament, or the heavens, or the sunset, and the like, we have only to recall that the human author under God described these things according as they appeared to he senses; and since they did not intend to teach science, they can hardly be accused of scientific error. Error, like truth, is found only in the judgment; and to understand the meaning of the affirmation, we have to know what the author intended to affirm. The Holy Father here explains the intention as being an affirmation *secundum apparentias.*

As for the difficulties arising from the numbers and chronological data preserved in the Scriptures, there is no need for haste to adopt the rationalistic conclusions; and if such conclusions entail a denial of the truthfulness of the Bible, they must be rejected. The Bible is true. Great care should be exercised to discover the genuine reading, and still more in order to grasp the intended meaning of the author, for it is precisely here where the truth is involved.

Leo XIII's remarks concerning the relationship between science and the Bible put an end to a question which had been fiercely debated for three centuries, beginning with the writings of Copernicus. A new source of difficulty now arose from the new study of history, which had recently come into contact with previously unknown documents of ancient peoples. The place of humanity in time, the development of the history of Israel, and the possible connections between the writings of the Bible and Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, were a few of the problems clamoring for solution.

In the *Providentissimus,* Pope Leo XIII, after quoting St. Thomas to show that science was spoken of according to appearances, proceeded to state in the next paragraph that "The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to history."[22] The context seems to allow an interpretation of history according to appearances also, and some authors of renown applied this principle to the books of Judith, Tobias, and Esther. However, almost thirty years later, on September 15, 1920, Pope Benedict XV in the encyclical *Spiritus Paraclitus* declared this to mean that the same diligence which is expended on scientific studies ought likewise to be applied to history, but certainly not that history was written *secundum apparentias*. It is evident that if such were the case, there would be great repercussions in the field of dogma, especially when application of this principle would be made to the very history of origins, to Genesis itself. Therefore, history according to appearances should not be adopted as a common, ordinary solution to historical difficulties; but its possibility is allowed under certain rarely realized conditions, when the history related in the Bible does not concern the formal teaching of the Scriptures.[23]

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[21] *E.B.,* 106.

[22] *E.B.,* 108.

With the publication of this encyclical, all doubts as to Leo's interest in Scripture were removed. Throughout this document he urged that students for the priesthood be carefully taught the truths of the Bible. Means of proving the integrity and authority of the Scriptures are to be provided in the course of Biblical Introduction, along with the method of seeking out the legitimate meaning of the next. Ubiquitous sophistical theories are to be attacked and uprooted. These preliminaries, he declares, are to be followed by "the more fruitful part of this science, interpretation." The part of teachers in this preparation is very important; they should avoid giving a cursory view of all the books, or of delaying unreasonably upon a fixed part of one. The Vulgate version was to be the official text, for Trent had decreed that it should be "regarded as authentic in public lectures, discussions, sermons, and explanations, and [it] is also recommended by the daily practice of the Church." If, however, "anything be set forth there ambiguously or not quite accurately, 'examination of the original language' as Augustine counsels, will be useful." It is self-evident how much skill must be brought to these tasks, since it is the "duty of the commentator to expound, not what he himself would prefer, but what his author says."[24] Wise advice indeed!

Once the correct text has been duly established there remains the problem of interpreting and explaining it. The meaning of the words, the connection of ideas, and parallel passages must be taken into consideration. Apposite erudition should draw illustrations from other sources which will help to clarify the sacred text. Nevertheless, "care should be taken lest more time and labor be devoted to such questions than to the knowledge of the sacred books themselves."[25] It is too easy for technical learning to become a hindrance rather than a help to the young.

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[23] *E.B.*, 154.

[24] *E.B.*, 90-91.

God's book is not like any other book, for it is His in a special way in that it is inspired. It is a difficult book, very often wrapped in a certain religious obscurity. Without a guide no one can find a sure way through it. The guide is not far to seek, for as St. Irenaeus remarked, "the Scriptures are explained without any danger by those who have the apostolic succession." His teaching was adopted by the Vatican Council which renewed the decree of Trent on the interpretation of the Scriptures, and Leo XIII repeats it here:

> In things of faith and morals, belonging to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be considered the true sense of Holy Scripture, which has been held and is held by our Holy Mother the Church, whose place it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; and therefore that it is permitted to no one to interpret Holy Scripture against such sense, or also against the unanimous agreement of the Fathers.[26]

The Church, then, places this restriction upon exegesis: it must conform to tradition and must not propose as the sense of a passage a meaning which would conflict with the Church's declaration of the meaning of that passage. This apparent handcuffing of the research scholar is not as harsh as it sounds to non-Catholic ears, for the Church has only rarely declared in an official manner the precise meanings of texts. An immense field for labor is left open, and profound, scientific study of disputed texts by competent individuals is positively encouraged, for by such means is the judgment of the Church, under divine Providence, brought to maturity. In every case, however, the Church maintains her exclusive right to decide upon the authentic meaning of the Scriptures.

Inasmuch as the author of the Scriptures has committed His doctrine to the Church, it would be ridiculous to suppose that any teaching in conflict with the Church's doctrines can be legitimately extracted from the sacred text. This is the second rule exegetes must observe. It is called somewhat forbiddingly (the term is borrowed from Rom. 12:6) the "analogy of faith."[27]

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[25] *E.B.*, 92.

[26] *E.B.*, 93.

Finally, exegesis must not go against the unanimous consent of the Fathers, who constitute a supreme authority when they interpret a text in one and the same manner as pertaining to doctrine of faith and morals. Such unusual unanimity is clearly an indication that their interpretation has come down from the Apostles as a matter of Catholic faith. When, however, the testimony of the Fathers is not unanimous, or if their unanimity is not centered about things pertaining to faith or morals, their authority is not imperative. They should always be taken into consideration and studied with care, for God gave a more ample measure of His light to these giants of the Church; and to them, after the Apostles, does the Church owe its growth—they have planted, watered, built, governed and cherished the Church.

The investigation of the Scriptures should not be limited strictly to the old horizons of the Fathers, for much has been added to the sum total of our knowledge since then. Exegetes, having consulted the Fathers, are at liberty to consult later commentators, for the battleground shifts continually, new weapons and new defenses against them are constantly being made, and the man who must fight with all, must needs be acquainted with the devices and arts of all, as St. John Chrysostom put it. In the heat of battle one has to remember never to depart from the literal and obvious sense of the Scriptures, except in cases where reason makes it untenable or necessity requires. At the same time there should be no neglect of the justifiable and accepted allegorical sense.[28]

In conclusion, the importance of the *Providentissimus Deus* for Scripture studies is evident to all who have taken the pains to read it. Litterateurs will find it a source of keen delight, but it is much more than this. It is a concise treatise dealing with the most fundamental problems. It affirms the inspiration of the Scriptures, of the whole Bible, and, it would seem, even of the words in which the divine truth is proposed. It defends the truthfulness of the Bible, and lays down the principles upon which the Bible and Science come to terms. It directs attention to the manner of conducting courses in Biblical Introduction in our seminaries, and issues directives calculated to raise and maintain a high standard in these important courses. Over and above this, the entire encyclical is pervaded with a note of solemnity and dignity. The style is that of a master, and the stateliness of expression well befits the Head of the Universal Church. It creates an atmosphere of great, calm earnestness, and the reader becomes acutely conscious of the authority that rings out in the voice of Peter. This encyclical, written fifty years ago, is a mighty document. The present celebration of its appearance half a century ago is ample evidence to the fact that it is definitely not outmoded.

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[27] *E.B.*, 94.

[28] *E.B.*, 97.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE ENCYCLICAL *PROVIDENTISSIMUS DEUS* ON SUBSEQUENT SCRIPTURE STUDY

In our days as of old the difficulties urged against the integrity and authority of the Sacred Scriptures have been met by the firm and clear pronouncements of their divinely appointed protector and guardian, the Church.

In this present period of the history of biblical interpretation the enemies of divine revelation have made evil use of new discoveries in the natural sciences of geology and palaeontology, prehistory and ethnography. They interpreted these discoveries in the light of the false philosophical systems, rationalism and evolutionism. For this reason 'science' was said to contradict the biblical account of creation, the origin and fall of man. Archaeological excavations in the Orient were supposed to deny the historical character of some inspired books such as Jonas, Tobias and Judith. The study of oriental literature and literary forms resulted in claiming for the biblical accounts of creation, the flood and the stories of the patriarchs a dependency on the similar narratives of older oriental peoples such as the Babylonians and Egyptians. The art of criticism was falsified by the undue importance and value it gave to internal evidence and by its utter disregard of external authority. The denial of the authorship, integrity and authority of the sacred books was the logical consequence of this false principle. There was "no such thing as revelation or inspiration or Holy Scripture at all."[1] Scripture narratives were stupid fables; prophecies were made either after the events or by the light of nature; miracles were tricks and myths; the Apostles never wrote the Gospels and the Epistles. Thus scientific truth was supposed to destroy revealed truth as if faith were the enemy of science.

Even among many Catholic scholars these pernicious errors were not without some effect. The "liberal school," as it was called, exaggerated the difficulties resulting from the progress of natural science and history and in its search for solutions was frequently tainted with the same errors which it was supposed to combat.

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[1] Litterae Encyclicae, *Providentissimus Deus,* Leonis Papae XIII, *Enchiridion Biblicum,* 85.

The immortal encyclical letter, *Providentissimus Deus,* issued by Pope Leo XIII on November 18, 1893, met the difficulties that arose without and within the Church by giving a strong impulse to Scripture study as well as direction suitable to the needs of the day. It is our task to trace this twofold influence of the encyclical which, together with similar pronouncements of subsequent Pontiffs during the past fifty years, has so thoroughly revitalized the queen of sciences, Holy Scripture.

1. PROMOTION OF SCRIPTURE STUDY

For the most part the Catholic world enthusiastically acclaimed the papal encyclical and readily accepted its principles. In the course of time those Catholic scholars whose opinions the encyclical repudiated either strove to reconcile them with the papal teaching or found themselves constrained through obstinacy to leave the Church.

Numerous are the biblical works inspired by *Providentissimus Deus;* more numerous still are the scholars from many lands who responded zealously to the Pope's appeal. They labored faithfully and with distinction during the past fifty years and their names constitute a golden honor roll, a testimony of faith and love for the inspired word of God.

We can but mention the more illustrious names of those who graced the various branches of Scripture in the period under consideration. Of *Biblical Introductions in Latin* must be mentioned those of Lamy, Cornely, Cellini, Sanchez, Martinetti, De Castro, Balaestri, Ruffini, Hoepfl, Simon-Prado and others; *in French:* of Vigoroux, Chauvin, Jacquier, Fillion, Renié, Lusseau, Collomb; *in German:* Rosch, Kaulen, Gutjahr, Schäfer, Belser, Göttsberger, Mader, Vogels, Seisenberger, Meinertz, Sickenberger; *in English:* Breen, Gigot, Pope, Grannan, Schumacher, Simon, Steinmueller.

In fulfillment of Pope Leo XIII's wish to make the Scriptures "safely and abundantly accessible to the flock of Jesus Christ," the Commission for the revision of the Vulgate was instituted by Pius X on April 30, 1907, and was entrusted to the Order of St. Benedict. Other editions of the Clementine Vulgate are those of Fr. Hetzenauer, O.M.Cap. (1906) and of Gramatica (1913, 1922, 1930). Critical editions of the Greek text of the New Testament were made by Vogels (1922) and by Merk, S.J. (1932 and 1938). Versions in the vernacular include: *in English,* the Westminster Version of the New Testament (1913–), the Spencer New Testament (edited in 1940), the Revised Rheims-Challoner version of the New Testament (1941) ; *in French,* the version begun by Crampon and completed by others: *in German,* Riessler's (1924) version of the Old Testament and the New Testament versions according to Rösch and Henne (1925-34), Dimmler (1925) and Tillmann (1927) ; *in Spanish,* the New Testament version of Juan José de la Torre, S.J. (1909) and another of Guil. Jünemann (1928) ; *in Polish,* the version of Archutowski (1926-27), and *in Italian,* the version according to Martini revised by M. Sales (1931), many books of the Old Testament by Ricciotti, of the New Testament by Boatti, and finally the new version begun by the Pontifical Biblical Institute (1923–).

Commentaries on the entire Bible or on individual books pertaining to this period exist in many languages. It will suffice to mention the collective works: "La sainte Bible avec introductions et commentaires" (Paris, 1875-1904)—and its recent counterpart "La Sainte Bible" (Paris, 1935), and the "Cursus Sacrae Scripturae" of the Jesuit Fathers (Paris, 1887–), "Kurzgefasster wissenschaftlicher Kommentar z.A.T." (Munich, 1913), "Die Heilige Schrift des N.T." (Bonn, 1914), "Études Bibliques" (Paris, 1903–).

Among biblical periodicals and collections there are: Revue Biblique (Paris, 1892–), Biblische Studien (Freiburg B., 1896–), Biblische Zeitschrift (Freiburg B., 1902–), Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen (Münster, 1908–), Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen (München, 1908), Collectanea Biblica Latina (Roma, 1913–), Biblica (Roma, 1920–), Verbum Domini (Roma, 1921–), The Catholic Biblical Quarterly (Washington, 1939–).

Biblical encyclopedias and dictionaries, concordances, histories, geographies, atlases, archaeological works, chronologies and numerous other biblical treatises in various languages and by Catholic authors give abundant testimony to the fertility of Catholic scholarship in the past five decades.

In several countries biblical societies have been formed to promote and popularize the use and understanding of the Sacred Scriptures. One of the most recent is the Catholic Biblical Association of America.

2. DIRECTION IMPARTED TO SCRIPTURE STUDY

Besides giving an impulse to the study of Scripture and thereby recruiting a vast army of scholars to defend the Bible, the Supreme Pontiff also planned and directed the campaign of study. He accomplished this: a) by carefully adapting the course of scriptural studies, both preparatory and advanced, to the needs of the day; (b) by establishing the principles for safeguarding the authority of the Bible, its inspiration and inerrancy.

The Preparatory Course of Scripture Studies

"Let our first care be to see that in seminaries and academical institutions the study of Sacred Scripture be placed on such a footing as its own importance and the circumstances of time demand."[2]

Prior to the period under discussion, universal Church legislation concerning the scriptural course in seminaries was very general.[3] Now however Leo XIII directed specifically that defence of the sacred writings—("Introduction" i.e., proof of their authority, integrity, authenticity, etc.) and penetration of their true meaning ("Exegesis") constitute respectively the foundation and edifice of the Scripture course. He realized that the extent of the matter and the time allotted forbade a thorough explanation of each book. Nevertheless, he did insist upon teaching a "definite and ascertained method of interpretation." It should consist in "weighing the meaning of words, the connection of ideas, the parallelism of passages," "the use of illustrations . . . drawn from apposite erudition." The parts chosen by the professor "should be treated with sufficient fullness" and serve as samples for studying the remainder of the text. Whilst the Vulgate was prescribed as the official text, other approved versions such as Hebrew and Greek were not to be neglected. They would serve the purpose of comparison and greater clarity. These instructions of the great Pontiff have long since constituted the framework or standard of the Scripture curriculum in the seminaries of the Catholic world.

Subsequent ecclesiastical directives concerning the plan of Scripture studies reveal the influence of *Providentissimus Deus* of which they are developments and more detailed pronouncements. Pius X[4] determined that the curriculum of Scripture study be divided over the entire period of study (six years) in the (Higher) Seminary. He mentioned by name the parts of general introduction that are to be treated—Inspiration, Canonicity, Texts and Versions, Hermeneutics. He added the study of the history of both Testaments to the course and ordered explicitly the analysis and special introduction to each book. Complementing *Providentissimus Deus,* he also specified which books and parts of books are to be interpreted. They include "the main features of the Mosaic Law, the principle prophecies and selected psalms from the Divine Office. Of the New Testament he prescribed the explanation of the general features of the entire Gospel narrative, the special features of the individual Gospels and proof of their authenticity. Of the Epistles and remaining books the doctrinal parts are to be explained. Finally he ordered special treatment to be given to the parts of both Testaments dealing with Christian faith and morals.

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[2] *Providentissimus Deus, EB,* 88.

[3] Byrne, "The Curriculum of Scriptural Studies in Our Seminaries," *CBQ,* I (1939), 214-222, 333-341.

Advanced Study of Holy Scripture

The above legislation constitutes the prescribed training in biblical science of all who aspire to the priesthood. Of equal importance is the provision "of a continuous succession of teachers" (*Providentissimus Deus*). Leo XIII asked that selection be made of "young men of good promise who have successfully accomplished their theological course." Such were to be set apart "exclusively for Holy Scripture" and "facilities" to be given them "for full and complete studies." He required that they equip themselves for the defense of the Bible against its enemies by a "study of the Oriental languages and the art of criticism." In all academic institutions he ordered the establishment of "chairs of other ancient languages especially the Semitic and of subjects connected therewith for the benefit principally of those who are destined to profess sacred literature."

The Pontifical Biblical Institute of Rome of which mention was made above, was actually planned by Leo XIII to be an athenaeum of advanced Scripture studies. He wished it to be staffed with excellent professors and equipped with every branch of biblical science.[5]

[4] Litterae Apostolicae, *Quoniam in re biblica, EB,* 156-163.

[5] Litterae Apostolicae, *Vinea electa, EB,* 294.

The death of the Pope reserved the execution of the plan to his successor. When Pius X founded the Institute by virtue of his apostolic letter, *Vinea electa,* of May 7, 1909,[6] he explained its purpose and laid down the laws that were to govern it. It was to be a center of advanced studies pertaining to the Sacred Books wherein biblical science and all allied studies might be promoted in a most efficacious maner conformable to the norms laid down by the Apostolic See. Student priests, secular and regular, of every nation could here be trained as professors and writers, defenders of Catholic truth and doctrine.

The establishment in Jerusalem by Pius XI in 1927 of the affiliated Biblical Institute completed the Papal plan. It offers to the Alumni of the Roman Institute and others the opportunity to study sacred sites as well as the results of the numerous archaeological excavations, some of which are sponsored by the Institute itself. The ordinary professors of both the above mentioned Institutes are appointed by the General of the Jesuit Fathers, subject to the approval of the Holy See.[7]

Pope Pius XI on August 7, 1932, realized another desire expressed in Leo XIII's encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* by creating at the Biblical Institute of Rome, the companion faculty of Oriental studies. Besides the teaching of Arabic, Syriac, Assyrian, Egyptian, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgic, Indo-Iranic, and Hittite tongues, questions arising from oriental sciences particularly in their relation to biblical interpretation are treated scientifically and with skill.

Other Papal universities, in particular the Dominican Angelicum and the Franciscan Athenaeum Antonianum at Rome each with its affiliated School of Scripture in Jerusalem, the Benedictine Sant Anselmo, also of Rome, and the univerities of Ottawa, Fribourg, and Washington, D. C., are equipped with competent faculties and follow programs of biblical studies conformable to the plans outlined by the Supreme Pontiffs. Each has trained numerous biblical scholars and has aided mightily in the defense and diffusion of Scripture science.

Of singular service to the Apostolic See and, as it were, perpetuating the twofold purpose of *Providentissimus Deus* is the august council of the Pontifical Biblical Commission established by the same Leo XIII on October 30, 1902.[8] It promotes biblical studies and provides practical rules for their guidance in present day problems. Its decisions, approved by the Pope, oblige in conscience "in the same way as the Decrees which appertain to doctrine, issued by the Sacred Congregations and approved by the Sovereign Pontiff." To "attack these decisions whether in word or in writing" is to be guilty of "deliberate disobedience and rashness and even of grave sin," not to speak of the scandal that may be caused.[9]

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[6] *Ibid.* 293-306.

[7] *Ibid.* 319.

The influence of Pope Leo's scriptural encyclical is everywhere evident in the pronouncements of his successors on the same subject. They seemed determined to guarantee and extend the letter's salutary and timely effects. Besides their documents already referred to mention must here be made of the decree *Lamentabili*[10] and the encyclical *Pascendi*[11] which Pius X directed against the errors of Modernists, the encyclical *Spiritus Paraclitus*[12] whereby Benedict XV gave further impulse to Scripture Study, inculcated important doctrines and condemned false interpretations. This letter together with *Providentissimus Deus* constitutes an epitome of the Church's teaching on general introduction to the Scriptures. The Motu Proprio of Pius XI, *"Bibliorum scientiam"*[13] and later his Apostolic Constitution *Deus scientiarum Dominus*[14] are concerned with the course of biblical studies, the administration of the Biblical Institute and the conferring of academic degrees in Scripture science.

Defence of the Authority of Holy Scripture

The influence of *Providentissimus Deus* thus far outlined was limited to men and equipment which are the external means of defending the Scriptures. Of even greater value for subsequent study were the actual teachings and principles which vindicate the inherent authority of the Scriptures, their inspiration and inerrancy. Amid the false teachings of rationalists openly hostile to the Church, amid the rash and excessively liberal as well as the extremely conservative opinions within the Church, the words of the Pope were clear and decisive. They exposed these fallacies in their proper colors, and unmistakably indicated the middle path along which alone true progress could be sought.

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[8] Litterae Apostolicae, *Vigilantiae,* Leonis Papae XII, October 3, 1902. *EB,* 130.

[9] Motu Proprio *Praestantia S. Scripturae,* Pii Papae X, *EB,* 279.

[10] Decretum *Lamentabili,* Pii Papae X, July 3, 1907, *EB,* 183-249.

[11] Ex Encyclica *Pascendi,* Pii Papae X, Sept. 8, 1907, *EB,* 250-275.

[12] Litterae Encyclicae *Spiritus Paraclitus,* Benedicti Papae XV, September 15, 1920, *EB,* 457-508.

[13] Motu Proprio *Bibliorum Scientiam,* April 27, 1924, *EB,* 518-525.

[14] Constitutio Apostolica *Deus scientiarum Dominus* May 24, 1931. Cf. Statuta Pontif. Insti. Biblici (Rome, 1935), 67-91.

a. *Inspiration and its Extent.* Not the contents of a book, sublime though they be, nor the effect of a book on its readers nor even the Church's subsequent approval of merely human writings, but the operation of God and the cooperation of man makes a book inspired. "By supernatural power, He (the Holy Spirit) so moved and impelled them to write—He so assisted them when writing that the things which He ordered, and those only, they, first rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise it could not be said that He was the Author of the entire Scripture."[15]

The doctrine of inspiration was readily accepted among Catholics, but the question of its extent caused difficulties for some. Was it true, as Rohling said, that inspiration does not extend to matters of science that are found in the Bible, or excludes whatever is not of faith or morals or at least, as Newman proposed, the *obiter dicta?* To all these questions there is the same reply: "So far is it from being possible that any error can coexist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error; but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme truth can utter that which is not true."[16]

Upon the admission that inspiration extends to the Bible with all its parts, a new discussion arose and still continues. Does inspiration extend only to the thoughts which God wishes the human author to convey or also to the words that can express these thoughts? Was the human author free to clothe the divine ideas with words of his own choosing, prevented by the Holy Spirit only from the use of such terms as would change God's meaning (real inspiration), or did the Holy Spirit influence the choice of words capable of aptly expressing these ideas (verbal inspiration)? Though the treatment of this question pertains more properly to another essay in this issue, it is mentioned here only as another question that has been influenced by the Leonine encyclical. If great authors like Franzelin, Schiffini, Vigoroux, Crets, Brucher, Mechineau and Pesch have opposed verbal inspiration, their reason seems based on confusing it with the mechanical dictation of words which even the defenders of verbal inspiration reject. The teaching of *Providentissimus Deus* strongly favors verbal inspiration when it says that through the Holy Spirit the sacred writers "first, rightly understood the things which He ordered, then willed faithfully to write down and finally *expressed in apt words and with infallible truth.*"[17] The words of Leo gained new adherents for verbal inspiration: Chauvin, Lagrange, Calmes, Zanecchia, Billot, Tanquerey, Van Noort, Vosté and others.

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[15] *Providentissimus Deus, EB,* 110.

[16] *Providentissimus Deus, EB,* 109.

To-day the difference among defenders of these opinions consists more in terminology and in the manner in which they viewed the divine influence on the hagiographer's choice of words rather than in diversity of doctrine, since both sides accept the teaching of Pope Leo's encyclical.

b. *Natural Sciences.* In matters of profane science correct biblical interpretation is not to be sought in rationalism, which insists that the Bible contradicts science, nor in ultra-conservatism, which fruitlessly seeks the agreement of the Fathers in support of matters that do not pertain to faith. On the contrary, the basis of correct interpretation lies in the principle that "ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses . . . The sacred writers . . . 'went by what appeared' or put down what God, speaking to men signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to."[18] In describing natural phenomena in conformity with their appearances, the sacred writer was not deceived. Neither did he express material error. Crystallizing the teaching of Leo XIII, Benedict XV declared: "It is not to the point to suggest that the Holy Spirit used men as His instruments for writing, and that therefore, while no error is referable to the primary Author, it may well be due to the inspired authors themselves."[19] The sacred writers speak the truth though not with scientific rigor of expression.

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[17] *Providentissimus Deus, EB,* 110.

[18] *Providentissimus Deus, EB,* 106.

[19] *Spiritus Paraclitus, EB,* 465.

This teaching of the Pontiffs and the decision of the Biblical Commission[20] demonstrated the harmony between faith and science. To establish this harmony even more securely Pope Leo greatly encouraged the study of natural science as a preparation for the teaching of Sacred Scripture.[21]

Inerrancy of the Bible

The teaching of *Providentissimus Deus* on the inerrancy of the Scriptures is clear and unmistakable. Error is simply incompatible with inspiration. "Those who maintain that an error is possible in any genuine passage of the sacred writings either pervert the Catholic notion of inspiration or make God the author of such error."[22]

Until the appearance of the encyclical some Catholic authors admitted material error in the Bible. This they considered necessary in order to explain satisfactorily the so-called contradictions between the Bible on the one hand and science and history on the other. Though the teaching of Leo quoted above seemed certainly to condemn their position, nevertheless they strove to reconcile their liberty with the restrictions of the encyclical by means of various theories such as that of "religious and profane elements," "historical appearances," "literary forms" and "implicit citations." How clearly these systems were at variance with the teaching of the Church is manifest both from *Providentissimus Deus* and from subsequent ecclesiastical decisions.

a. *Religious and Profane Element.* According to this theory, the sacred author wrote principally to teach matters of religion. These are called the primary elements while all other matters found in the Bible are considered its secondary elements. The former are free from error; the latter are merely the external garb or form of the religious truths. Thus, for example, the narratives contained in the first three chapters of Genesis would not correspond to objective reality and historic truth—but merely present religious and philosophical truth under the garb of history. Though the Biblical Commission forbade this theory to be taught[23] it was revived by H. Junker,[24] in 1932, but without winning any new adherents, because it already stood condemned.

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[20] Resp. VI Pont. Commissionis Biblicae, 30 Jun. 1909, *EB*, 338.

[21] *Providentissimus Deus, EB*, 105.

[22] *EB*, 111.

Such a theory, if applied to every biblical account would end by destroying all history. It contradicts the words of *Providentissimus Deus* which says with St. Augustine that we must not depart "from the literal and obvious sense, except only where reason makes it untenable or necessity requires."[25]

The same letter refuses to tolerate the system which limits inspiration to faith and morals and considers "not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind in saying it."[26] This system is, also, at variance with the teachings of the Fathers and theologians who admitted no errors in any part of the Bible.

b. *Historical Appearances.* The search for a principle or key to solve all difficulties urged against the inerrancy of the Scriptures was thought to have been found at last in the new theory of "historical appearances." The proponents of this theory argued that modern methods of historical criticism were certainly unknown to the inspired writers. In relating profane events "whose certitude is neither necessary nor directly useful for their religious purpose,"[27] these inspired writers recorded facts, not scientfically, i.e., in strictly historical fashion, but popularly, according to the manner in which the events *appeared* to their uncritical minds. No error could thereby be imputed to them, since the norm of history at the time was nothing more than the expression of popular opinion. The Sacred Writings themselves may contain errors of detail, since their value cannot exceed that of their sources.

The defenders of this theory[28] were all the more confident of its success because they believed their hypothesis to be based on the very words of the encyclical itself. After treating of the relation between the Bible and science the Pope concluded by saying: "The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences and especially to history."

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[23] Decr. Pont. Commissionis Biblicae, 30 Jun. 1909, Resp. II, *EB*, 333. cf. Pesch. Supplem. nn. 13-20, pp. 12-21.

[24] H. Junker, *Die Biblische Urgeschichte* (Bonn, 1932).

[25] Aug. *De Gen. ad Litt.* LVIII 7, 13. *Providentissimus Deus, EB,* 97.

[26] *Providentissimus Deus, EB,* 109.

[27] Dictionnaire apologetique, art. *Inerrance,* col. 777.

[28] F. Von Hummelauer, *Exegetisches zur Inspirationsfrage* (Bibl. Studien, IX/4), Freiburg 1904, 58-73; M. J. Lagrange, *La Methode Historique*^{2} (1904), 104-109; N. Peters, *Die grundsätzliche Stellung der kath. Kirche zur Bibelforschung* (Paderborn, 1905) 48 s.; H. A. Poels, *History and Inspiration* in Catholic University Bulletin 11 (1905), 19-67; 152-194.

But these words of the Pope were misapplied to favor the theory of "historical appearances," as is evident from their context and from the authentic interpretation of them given by Benedict XV. In reference to the natural sciences Pope Leo XIII stated that "the Catholic interpreter . . . must bear in mind that much which has been held and proved as certain has afterwards been called in question and rejected" and that physicists do not always remain within the boundaries of their own branch but invade philosophy. Just as caution is necessary in the natural sciences, so also must this reserve be transferred to "cognate sciences and especially to history," so that apparent certainties may not be accepted as certain and these sciences may be kept within their own boundaries and excluded from intruding upon philosophy. "Such views," says Benedict XV of the theory of "historical appearances," "are clearly false and constitute a calumny on our predecessor. After all, what analogy is there between physics and history? For whereas physics are concerned with 'sensible appearances' and must, consequently, square with phenomena, history on the contrary, must square with facts since history is the written account of events as they actually occurred."[29]

These words of *Spiritus Paraclitus* interpreting *Providentissimus Deus* brought the bitterly disputed question of "historical appearances" to a decisive conclusion. Though the intentions of its defenders were undoubtedly honest, the theory was proven to be false and injurious to the inerrancy of the Bible.[30]

c. *Literary forms.*[31] That there are various literary forms in Sacred Scripture, such as poetic, didactic and narrative literature is admitted by all. Misapplying this general principle, Von Hummelauer distinguished various literary forms within the external form of narration. He discovered fables, historic epics, religious history, ancient history, popular and family traditions, prophetic narrations and apocalyptic utterances in the Bible. Each of these, like the parables in the Gospel, was used to express a truth different from the strict historical truth.

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[29] *Spiritus Paraclitus, EB,* 470.

[30] For further discussion, cf. Pesch, *De Inspiratione Sacrae Scripturae,* Supplementum (Freiburg i. B. 1925), 29-33.

[31] *Ibid.,* 33-38; A. Bea, *De Inspiratione*² (Rome 1935), 101-114.

A theory such as this would give great liberty to the exegete. Every obstacle to the literal historical sense of Scripture narrative would easily be removed by invoking one of its various literary forms.

The nature of narrative is to convey historic truth. Granting the difference in style and method of ancient historiography and its imperfection, as compared with modern historical criticism, the object of both is still historical truth. Archaeological discoveries prove the historicity of Old Testament narrative.

The system of "literary forms" found adherents among many Catholic authors—such as Bonaccorsi, Batiffol, Durand, Prat, Zanecchia, Lagrange, Höpfl, Schlögl, Peters, Jacquier, Holshey and others. Nevertheless, the Biblical Commission decreed that it may not be admitted "as a principle of sound exegesis, . . . that those books of Holy Scripture which are regarded as either wholly or in part historical sometimes narrate what is not really history properly so-called and objectively true but only has the appearance of history and are intended to convey a meaning different from the strictly literal and historical sense of the words."[32] The only exception is the case in which it can be proven by solid arguments that the sacred writer did not intend to give a true and strict history, but rather to set forth, under the guise and form of history, a parable or an allegory or some meaning distinct from the literal historical signification of the words. The Commission regarded a case of this kind to be rare, "not easily or rashly admitted and then only on the supposition that it is not opposed to the teaching of the Church and subject to her decision."[33]

From this declaration of the Church it is evident that the distinction of literary forms is not what its advocates wished it to be: a principle for solving difficulties raised against the historicity of a biblical narrative. Instead of aiding sound Catholic exegesis it proved a serious hindrance in contradicting the inerrancy of the Scriptures.[34]

d. *Implicit Citations.* "If apparent contradiction be met with" (in the Scriptures), says Leo XIII,[35] "every effort should be made to remove it.... If the difficulty is after all not cleared up and the discrepancy seems to remain, the contest must not be abandoned; truth cannot contradict truth."

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[32] Decr. II Pontif. Comm. Bib., 23 Jun. 1905, *EB*, 154.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Bea, *op. cit.*, p. 110 f.

[35] *Providentissimus Deus, EB*, 116.

Like the Catholic authors of the other theories already examined, Fr. Prat sought to comply with this rule of the Supreme Pontiff in proposing the system of implicit citations. He firmly hoped that it would solve what were called "contradictions" in the Bible and at the same time preserve biblical inerrancy. The question was asked: "What was the mind of the sacred writer regarding the truth of the profane sources of which he made use?" In the case of an explicit citation a distinction was made between the "truth of the citation" and the "truth of the thing cited." The former must always be present, the latter, only when the sacred author agrees with the statements therein contained.

In an implicit citation the sacred author does not indicate his source. Does he accept responsibility for the truth of the statements thus made? Prat[36] defended the possibility of an author not wishing to assume responsibility for implicit citations, but insisted that this would have to be proven. Bonaccorsi[37] went further and maintained that responsibility was only accepted when the sacred author explicitly or equivalently approved. Since sources were used for nearly all the inspired books, this question became an important one.

In common with the theories of "historical appearances" and of "literary forms," the theory of "implicit citations" resulted in undermining the inerrancy of the Bible, although it had been advanced in defense of this inerrancy. In all historical writings the author is presumed to have accepted responsibility for the truth of his statements, unless he indicates otherwise. This principle applies all the more certainly to Sacred Writings.

The Biblical Commission forbade the appeal to "implicit citations" as a solution of difficulties found in historical texts. It denied the assertion that the inspired writer does not approve of his statements or make them his own. Consequently, his statements must be free from error. Nevertheless, the Commission admits the possibility that an inspired writer might cite another's sayings or writings without intending to approve of them; but it must first be established by solid arguments that the inspired writer does cite another's sayings or writings and that he does not wish to approve of them. The ultimate decision in each case must rest with the Church.[38]

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[36] F. Prat, *Etudes* 86(1901/1) 474-500; 93(1902/IV) 289-312; La Bible et l'Histoire^5 (Paris 1908), 46-56.

[37] Bonaccorsi, *Questioni bibliche* (Bologna 1904), 122.

Against the theories of "implicit citations," "historical appearances" and "literary forms" Pope Benedict XV[39] wrote: "If Jerome were living now he would sharpen his keenest controversial weapons against people who set aside what is the mind and judgment of the Church, and take too ready a refuge in such notions as implicit citations or pseudo-historical narratives or in forms of literature in the Bible, such as cannot be reconciled with the entire and perfect truth of God's word."

As a theory or general principle for solving historical difficulties, the system of "implicit citations" is a valueless expedient. It goes beyond the limits set by the Fathers and leaves little room for that truth and dignity of the Scriptures which the Leonine encyclical so ably defended.

Ecclesiastical Sanctions[40]

Any study of the influence of the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* on subsequent biblical scholarship would be incomplete without mention of the ecclesiastical sanctions pronounced against the writings and the persons of those who persisted in opposing its teachings. The fate of Alfred Loisy is one which every loyal son of Holy Mother Church must ever deeply regret. Like the unfaithful apostle who eagerly awaited his Master's betrayal at the very time that he reclined with Him at table, Loisy haughtily disregarded repeated paternal warnings and remaining within the Church, he raised his heel against her. He denied her dogmas and her teachings on the inspiration of the Scriptures. Even the condemnation of many of his writings[41] failed to convert him to obedience and docility. When the entire system of Modernism was condemned by the decree *Lamentabili*[42] and by the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici gregis* of Pius X,[43] Loisy persisted more boldly than before. Finally, the Congregation of the

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[38] Resp. I. Pont. Commissionis Biblicae, 13 Feb. 1905, *EB*, 153.

[39] *Spiritus Paraclitus*, *EB*, 474.

[40] Pesch, *De Inspiratione*, Supplementum, 76-82.

[41] Decree of the Holy Office, Dec. 16, 1903.

[42] Decretum *Lamentabili sane exitu*, 3 Jul. 1907, *EB*, 183-249.

[43] Ex Encyclica *Pascendi*, 8 Sept. 1907, *EB*, 250-275.

Holy Office resorted to the extreme penalty of excommunication "nominatim ac personaliter."

For the same reason, because he persisted in advocating Modernism, Ernesto Buonaiuti was excommunicated and suspended on March 28, 1924. "All his works were placed on the Index of forbidden books and he himself was forbidden in future to write, hold conferences, and teach publicly any matter pertaining to religion."[44]

For different reasons the Congregation of the Holy Office[45] on December 12, 1923, took action against the twelfth to the fifteenth editions of the *Manuel biblique ou Cours d'Écriture Sainte a l'usage des Seminaires,* and all their translations.[45b] They were placed on the Index of forbidden books. The editions in question were edited by A. Brassac and I. Ducher.

A primary reason for the condemnation of this work was the novel and misleading method of presentation. This method compromised the ecclesiastical decrees by appearing to accept them, while propounding the contrary doctrine. The opposing doctrines were placed side by side. Arguments for the Catholic teaching were stated briefly opposite the more detailed arguments favoring the condemned teachings. No judgment was expressed. The individual was permitted to choose for himself.

In repeating here the reasons enumerated by the Congregation of the Holy Office for the condemnation of the *Manuel biblique,* our purpose is not to impugn the character of its author, who proved his loyalty to the Church by his act of submission,[46] but merely to indicate the authority with which the Church wishes to impose her decrees and the respect and submission which she demands of her children. The work of Brassac was condemned because it contained "many and grave errors which so permeated and infected it as to render its correction impossible. It violated the dogmatic decrees of the Councils of Trent and the Vatican and other documents of the ecclesiastical magisterium, such as the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* of Leo XIII, the encyclical *Pascendi* of Pius X, the decrees of the Holy Office, of the Biblical Commission and of the entire Catholic tradition concerning the inspiration of Sacred Scripture and its inerrancy, especially in historical matters, where it distinguished between the substance of the narration and that which is accessory to it, and concerning the authenticity and historical truth of several inspired books."[47]

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[44] Acta Apost. Sedis, 16 (1924), 159 f.

[45] *Ibid.,* 15 (1923), 615.

[45b] Excepting Vols. I and II of Editions 12 and 13, which were not included in the censure.

[46] Acta Apost. Sedis, 16 (1924), 160.

The method employed in this work of Brassac's was condemned for neglecting the positive exposition of Catholic doctrine and showing indifference to the traditional teaching, while explaining rationalistic opinions attractively and in great detail and using internal arguments for its novel doctrines, without indicating their inefficacy. It disparaged the teaching of the *Providentissimus Deus* in these matters and devised interpretations contrary to the traditional sense of the Church, "to whom it belongs to judge concerning the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures." It favored the liberal school and made use of ambiguous expressions and captious formulas, contrary to the golden rule of Pius X[48] "not to depart in the least from the common doctrine and tradition of the Church, to use the results of scientific progress and at the same time avoid the rash commentaries of innovators." The author disregarded the decisions of the Biblical Commission, despite the fact that they bind in conscience, devaluated the arguments favoring the traditional doctrine, and exaggerated the difficulties alleged by our adversaries. He minimized the preternatural or miraculous character of facts narrated by hagiographers. He passed by, "in ignorance or contempt, the excellent work which Catholics have left in abundance, . . . in order to have recourse to works of non-Catholics," and sought "in them to the detriment of sound doctrine and often to the peril of faith the explanation of passages on which Catholics long ago have successfully employed their talent and their labor."[49]

These grave charges were all the more reprehensible, because the *Manuel* containing such errors was used by so many candidates for the priesthood toward whom the Church must exercise a maternal care.

More recently the Biblical Commission[50] condemned the work of Frederick Schmidtke, *Die Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan,* and prohibited its use in Catholic schools of learning. The book incurred this condemnation because it contradicts the decrees of the Biblical Commission by following the rationalistic criticism of the Pentateuch and defending other condemned doctrines pertaining to the history of the Old Testament.[51] Miracles are explained as natural events, the dogmas of inspiration and inerrancy are implicitly denied, and the Catholic doctrine presented in the *Providentissimus Deus* of Leo XIII and the *Spiritus Paraclitus* of Benedict XV is contradicted.

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[47] Acta Apost. Sedis, 15 (1923), 615-619.

[48] Litt. Apost. *Quoniam in re biblica,* March 27, 1906, *EB,* 168; Acta S. Sedis 39 (1906), 77-80.

[49] *Providentissimus Deus, EB,* 98.

[50] Resp. Pont. Comm. Biblicae, 27 Feb. 1934, Acta Apost. Sedis 26 (1934).

The above examples of ecclesiastical penalties emphasize the warning of Benedict XV given to clerics and professors of Sacred Scripture: "We remind them that they will only come to miserable grief if they neglect our predecessor's injunctions and overstep the limits set by the Fathers."[52] These punishments demonstrate the fate that awaits those who "seek the interpretation of Scripture in the works of non-Catholics to the detriment of sound doctrine and often to the peril of faith, . . . (unmindful) that the sense of Holy Scripture can nowhere be found incorrupt outside the Church."[53] False interpreters seek in vain to lay a foundation other than "that which has been laid, which is Christ Jesus,"[54] who is perpetuated in the living Church.

Conclusion

From the foregoing survey it becomes evident how deeply the study of Sacred Scripture has been influenced during the past fifty years by the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus.* The numerous works on every branch of biblical science, the army of scholars who responded to the papal appeal, the institutions of learning that followed the program of studies which he outlined—all these bear witness to the extent of the impulse which Pope Leo XIII imparted to Bible study.

The mistakes of scholars in the past might well be avoided and real service be given the Church by keeping in mind the advice of the *Providentissimus Deus:* "The Sacred Scripture is not like other books. Dictated by the Holy Spirit, it contains things of the deepest importance, which, in many instances, are most difficult and obscure. To understand and explain such things there is always required the 'coming' of the same Holy Spirit: that is to say, His light and His grace; and these, as the Royal Psalmist so frequently insists, are to be sought by humble prayer and guarded by holiness of life."[55]

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[51] Resp. III Pont. Comm. Biblicae, 27 June, 1906; Resp. II 23 June, 1905. *EB*, 174-177; 154.

[52] *Spiritus Paraclitus, EB*, 466.

[53] *Providentissimus Deus, EB*, 98.

[54] 1 Cor. 3:11.

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[55] *Providentissimus Deus, EB,* 74; S. Hier., *in Mich.,* 1:10.

ST. IRENAEUS AND THE DATES OF THE SYNOPTICS

Part Two: THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

Except for the detail already discussed,[40] the text of the Matthaean testimony as handed down by Eusebius seems quite genuine. It is true that Cornely maintained[41] that the omission of "et" before "scripturam" in the old Latin version of the Four Gospel passage reveals the difficulty which the ancient translator felt in the *καὶ γραφήν* of our present Greek text. From this alleged awkwardness of the Greek text, Cornely concluded that at some very early date a whole phrase must have dropped out.[42] Yet, whatever reason is to be assigned for the omission of "et" by the Latin translator, the particle *καί*, an instance of *καί*-intensivum, is neither hard to understand nor out of keeping with Irenaeus' style. It is to be found at least three times in this same Four Gospel passage.

I. STRUCTURE OF THE MATTHAEAN TESTIMONY

There is no great difficulty in the first clause of this testimony. However a few points may be noted. If a participial complement is to be understood with *ἐν Ἑβραίοις*, then *διατρίβων* (or possibly *ὤν*) is to be preferred to *εὐαγγελιζόμενος*. For the information conveyed in this phrase, like that in the later sentence on the Fourth Gospel, is essentially geographic. To judge by an earlier passage in *Adv. Haereses*,[43] *διατρίβων* is the exact term which Irenaeus would understand in the present text. It cannot be denied, however, that the emphatic *καὶ* before *γραφήν* implies an unspoken contrast with Matthew's earlier oral preaching. The contrast is both natural and obvious. It is quite in harmony with the previous statement of our author regarding the apostles: "quod [sc. evangelium] tunc praeconaverunt, postea vero . . . in scripturis nobis tradiderunt."

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[40] Cf. *CBQ* V, 1, p. 40.

[41] R. Cornely, S.J., *Introductio in Utriusque Test. Libros Sacros* (Parisiis: Lethielleux, ed. 2, 1894-1897), Vol. III, pp. 77 f.—M. Levesque seems to have proposed a solution somewhat similar to Cornely's in 1933 (cf. L. Pirot, "Évangiles et Commission Biblique," *Dict. de la Bible*: *Supplém.*, II, col. 1240 ff.).

[42] Cornely (*ibid.*) conjectures that the phrase *τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ἔγραψε*, or something like it, stood originally before *καὶ γραφήν*.

[43] Speaking of his own residence and apostolate in Gaul, Irenaeus uses this expression: *ἡμῶν ἐν Κελτοῖς διατριβόντων*. Cf. Adv. *Haer.* I, *Praef.*; ed. Harvey I, p. 6; MPG 7, 444 A.

As for the verb ἐξήνεγκεν, there can be no doubt that the translation "edidit" of the old Latin version is correct. Pursuant to his special interpretation of the text, Cornely would seem to prefer "extulit." According to him, the verb ἐξήνεγκεν would refer to Matthew's taking the written gospel ("secumque extulisse evangelium") upon his departure from Palestine for foreign lands. Unfortunately for this hypothesis, the verb in question is normally used in such contexts to express the notion of publication.[44]

Keeping these points in view and taking into account the illustrational character of the Four Gospel text, we may translate the first part of the Matthaean testimony as follows: "(It was) thus (that) Matthew, (in residence) among the Hebrews, issued a written text too of the gospel in their own language, . . ."

Immediately after this statement of Matthew's literary activity comes the crucial participial phrase: τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου κτλ.

Dom Chapman[45] was the first perhaps to break away, without violence to the text, from the purely temporal interpretation of this phrase. He was guided in his study of the text by the well-known principle that circumstantial participles, whether in the direct or the absolute construction, may have many different connotations; that the precise nuance intended by an author is to be determined by context as well as by text. From his study of the context Chapman had come to realize that Irenaeus was not so much interested in the dates of the gospels as in their apostolic origin.

A. The Traditional Temporal Interpretation of the Clause. Judged by the norms of text and context, the purely temporal interpretation of the participial phrase does seem less likely. Though, grammatically, it is a most legitimate interpretation, it does not fit into the context so well and it is really less suited to the immediate text than may appear at first sight. According to the purely temporal interpretation, the participial phrase would be an emphatic designation of time. Yet, to judge from the context, Irenaeus is not much interested in time-designations. Neither is this interpretation so well suited to the immediate text. To regard the participial phrase as a mere temporal adjunct to the statement of Matthew's literary work is to underrate the importance, both logical and stylistic, of the information communicated in the phrase. For if we take into account the high importance of the apostles Peter and Paul in the eyes of Irenaeus, if we consider the position which the Roman Church and its traditions occupy in this Third Book of *Adv. Haereses*, it will be hard to deny that the contents of the participial phrase were regarded by our author as even more important than his remarks on Matthew's literary work. If Matthew was an apostle, Peter and Paul were the great apostolic leaders; if Matthew worte a gospel, Peter and Paul, through their followers, are each responsible for a gospel; if Matthew worked among the Hebrews, the great capital of the empire, Rome, was the scene of the labors of Peter and Paul.

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[44] Cf. Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* (Oxford: Clarendon, New revised ed., 1925-40), *s.v.* ἐκφέρω, II, 3 (Vol. II, p. 525).

[45] J. Chapman, O.S.B., *loc. cit.;* cf. *supra,* note 20.

There is hardly any need to point out that the grammatically subordinate status of the participial phrase is no obstacle to its equality or even superiority in thought and content.[46] There is many an instance in the classical languages where a part grammatically subordinate is logically equal to,[47] or even more important than, a clause superior in grammatical dignity.

B. THE ADVERSATIVE INTERPRETATION. If the purely temporal interpretation is to be abandoned, there is only one other nuance possible in the present case, that of contrast. Cause, concession and the rest are manifestly out of place. Now the adversative construction has much to commend it both in text and context.

Throughout the whole testimony on Aramaic Mt. there runs a consistent contrast between the contents of the main and subordinate members. What is even more significant, the contrasted elements follow each other in like sequence. It will be helpful to see this balanced contraposition in diagrammatic form:

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[46] C. J. Donovan, S.J., *Theory of Advanced Greek Prose Composition*, 5 Vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1921-4), Vol. III, p. 361 f.: "There is no such thing as absolute identity between thought and language. The grammatical subject is not always the same as the subject of the mental judgment, of which it is the outward expression.... Further, it often happens that a whole clause, nay, a series of propositions, has only one *raison d'être*—namely, to introduce some one idea, however unimportant its role in the sentence, which is alone essential to the thought of the speaker or writer. To this, be it word or clause, all else in the sentence is subsidiary."

[47] Of all the early Pontiffs mentioned in Irenaeus' Roman Episcopal List, Soter alone is placed in a phrase grammatically subordinate. Cf. *Adv. Haer.* III, iii, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 11; MPG 7, 851 A.

ὁ Ματθαῖος	τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου
ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις	ἐν Ῥώμῃ
τῇ ἰδία αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ	["in Greek"][48]
καὶ γραφὴν . . . . . . εὐαγγελίου	εὐαγγελιζομένων [= oral evangelization] κτλ.

So imposing is this balanced series of contrasts that there is hardly any need to say more in justification of the adversative interpretation.

To be sure, one might object that the old Latin translation "cum . . . evangelizarent et fundarent ecclesiam" is a strong argument in favor of the temporal construction. Yet it must not be forgotten that "cum" with the subjunctive may at times signify the "while" or "whereas" of contrast.[49] There is at least one other instance of this adversative construction in *Adv. Haereses*,[50] and here too the ancient Latin translator uses "cum" with the subjunctive.

The adversative interpretation is admirably suited in like manner to the general context. In the preceding context, Irenaeus had spoken of the oral and written gospel; in his explicit mention of the departure of the apostles for the ends of the earth, he had implicitly referred to their previous ministry in Palestine itself. Now these same contrasts are repeated and illustrated in our present text. As for the following context, our analysis[51] of the passage which follows the Four Gospel passage shows how neatly the adversative interpretation meets the exigencies of the subsequent context.

As, then, both text and context support this interpretation, as the text proper would seem even to require it, there can hardly be any ground for further hesitation in the matter. However, one more consideration may be noted: the adversative interpretation is more suited than the temporal to the onward movement of the general passage. Laying greater stress on the participial phrase, the adversative interpretation brings the presence and activity of Peter and Paul into greater prominence. Now it is this presence of Peter and Paul in the imperial capital, as we have already seen,[52] and not the work of Matthew in Palestine, that takes up and continues the forward movement of the whole passage. It is the reference to Peter and Paul that carries along the rhythm given in the foregoing statement "exierunt in fines terrae," a rhythm which is resumed again in the mention of John at Ephesus.

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[48] Greek speaking Christians of the second century would be most conscious of this unspoken contrast.

[49] On "cum" *adversativum*, cf., e.g., G. M. Lane, *A Latin Grammar* (New York: American Book Co., Revised ed., 1903), no. 1877, p. 319.

[50] *Adv. Haer.* I, x, 3; ed. Harvey I, p. 97; MPG 7, 557 B. De Billy (*loc. cit.* in Migne) translates the genitive absolute: "cum interim . . . . teneat."

[51] Cf. CBQ V, 1, p. 43.

C. The Primary Contrast. As we have noted above, the contrasts between the participial phrase and the main clause are multiple. There are explicit contrasts of person and place, and an implicit contrast of language. There is in addition the contrast of Matthew's written gospel to the oral gospel of Peter and Paul. In this abundance it is only natural to seek to establish which of the many contrasts was foremost in the mind of Irenaeus. In view of the illustrational character of the Four Gospel passage with reference to the previous "exierunt in fines terrae," the primacy may well be given to the contrast of place.[53]

The sense and the emphasis of the Matthaean testimony may be brought out in the following rough translation: "(It was) thus (that) Matthew, (in residence) among the Hebrews, issued a written text too of the gospel in their own language, (while [*or* whereas]) Peter and Paul (were) at Rome, preaching the gospel and laying the foundation of the Church." Indeed, one is tempted, in view of the logical superiority of the participial phrase, to subordinate the grammatically superior clause. For it would not be far removed from the real emphasis of the testimony to give this rendering: "Thus (it was, that while) Matthew, (in residence) among the Hebrews, issued a written text too of the gospel in their own language, Peter and Paul (were) at Rome, preaching the gospel and laying the foundation of the Church."

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[52] *Ibid.* p. 44.

[53] This seems to be the point of emphasis understood by A. Harnack. Cf. *The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels*, translated by J. R. Wilkinson (London: William and Norgate, 1911), p. 130.

II. Examination of the Time-Data.

Though one may agree with Chapman with regard to the adversative interpretation of the participial phrase in the Matthaean testimony, it is difficult to give assent to his judgment that the participial phrase, in its relation to the main clause, marks no more than a general co-existence in the apostolic age.[54] It is difficult to agree with his view that the adversative nuance of the participial phrase eliminates the connotation of real simultaneity between the publication of Aramaic Mt. and the activity of Peter and Paul at Rome. The indications of simultaneity given in the present participles *εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων* cannot be evaded. However adversative in force, the participial phrase seems also to be temporal by implication. In other words, the adversative construction, though necessary for a proper understanding and evaluation of the text, does not set aside the fact that Irenaeus has juxtaposed the foundation of the Roman Church by Peter and Paul and the publication of the First Gospel by the apostle Matthew. These two events are unquestionably synchronized by our author.

A. Irenaeus' Synchronism. We have already taken note[55] of the awkwardness of this juxtaposition, and later on we shall have more to say on the subject. Our immediate interest, however, lies in the following problem: Are we to infer from the synchronism laid down by Irenaeus that the publication of Aramaic Mt. did not take place, according to Irenaeus, until after 61 A.D.? The key to this problem lies, it would seem, in the contents of the participial phrase. To understand how Irenaeus understood the historical and chronological contents of that phrase, we must take careful note of his views on New Testament chronology and on the dual apostolate of Peter and Paul at Rome.

1. The Dual Apostolate. It has been suggested by many scholars[56] that the word *θεμελιούντων* (fundarent) was used here

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[54] Dom Chapman, *loc. cit.*, *Journ. Theol. Stud.* VI (1904-5), p. 566, states his conclusion as follows: "A careful study of the passage will certainly convince the reader that the genitive absolute *εὐαγγελιζομένων* cannot possibly be pressed to mean 'during the time that Peter and Paul were preaching.' The notion of contemporaneousness is almost as faint in the phrase as in the English 'While Peter and Paul preached at Rome.' . . . The only simultaneity implied is that both events occurred during the same period—the apostolic age—and presumably the earlier part of it.

[55] Cf. *CBQ* V, 1, pp. 35 ff.

[56] Cf. U. Holzmeister, S.J., *Comment. in Epist. SS. Petri et Judae* (Parisiis: Lethielleux, 1937), Pars I, pp. 41 f.

in the Four Gospel passage in a mitigated sense. For, it is urged, Paul's own *Epistle to the Romans,*[57] an epistle with which Irenaeus was well acquainted, must have indicated to our author in the clearest manner that Paul could not in any strict sense have been styled "founder" of the Roman Church.

Although it is true that the strict interpretation of θεμελιούντων is contrary to the teaching of Rom., it is the interpretation which seems preferable in the present case. For the rest, Irenaeus, as we shall soon have occasion to observe, makes more than one blunder in matters of New Testament history and chronology. And certainly, if we attend to the more obvious meaning of the text, it would appear that Irenaeus understood the participle in the strict sense of first foundation.

To begin with, Irenaeus predicates the idea of founderhood of Paul as well as of Peter, and without any indicated distinction of meaning. Both apostles are presented in the same way by Irenaeus as founders of the Roman Church. Now, as there can hardly be any doubt that Irenaeus looked on Peter as one who laid the first foundation of the Roman Church, it is legitimate to infer that our author, linking Paul with Peter in the work of founding the Roman Church, regarded Paul's founderhood as similar to that of Peter. Nor is the Four Gospel passage the only statement made by Irenaeus on the subject.

Twice in the sections immediately following, Irenaeus repeats the thought; twice he applies the predication of "founder," without distinction, to Peter and Paul. In the second of these passages,[58] Irenaeus states simply: "Having founded and built up (θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες) the (Roman) Church, the blessed apostles [viz., Peter and Paul] committed into the hands of Linus the sacred office of the episcopate." In the earlier passage,[59] Irenaeus lays special stress on the duality of their founderhood: "maxime et antiquissimae et omnibus cognitae, a gloriosissimis *duobus* apostolis Petro et Paulo Romae fundatae et constitutae ecclesiae." Just as in the Four Gospel passage the work of "evangelizing and founding" is ascribed without distinction to Peter and Paul, so in these two passages the work of "founding and building up" and of "founding and establishing" is ascribed, again without distinction, to both apostles.

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[57] Cf. Rom. 1:10-13; 15:22.

[58] *Adv. Haer.* III, iii, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 10; MPG 7, 849 A.

[59] *Adv. Haer.* III, iii, 1; ed. Harvey II, p. 9; MPG 7, 848 B.

Furthermore, there is evidence that it was Irenaeus' practice to employ the metaphor of "founding" according to its strict sense of first foundation. In the passage just quoted, the combination of metaphors, *θεμελιώσαντες .... καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες*, points clearly to the fact that Irenaeus understood "founding" in the sense of first foundation, not in the mitigated sense of development. In that passage the "building up" of the Roman Church is clearly distinguished from its "founding." But there is still stronger evidence for the conclusion that Irenaeus was wont to use the verb *θεμελιοῦν* in the sense of the first foundation. That evidence lies in the divergent manner in which Irenaeus speaks of the work of Paul and John at Ephesus.

If Peter and Paul were the two apostles of Rome, Paul and John were the two apostles of the great Church of Ephesus. If Paul labored two or three years at Rome, John must have toiled —according to Irenaeus—for twenty or thirty years at Ephesus. If, according to Acts and to Irenaeus, Paul was the first to introduce Christianity into the great metropolis of Proconsular Asia, John lived for a very long time in the Church of Ephesus—indeed, down to the time of Trajan. It was at Ephesus that John wrote his gospel in order to combat the attacks of the Cerinthians and the Nikolaitans, whose heresies were then rampant in Proconsular Asia. It was there too that he wrote his Apocalypse and presumably his three Letters. Yet, notwithstanding all these titles to special recognition, Irenaeus abstains in a rather pointed manner from joining John with Paul in the founderhood of the Ephesian Church. Thus, after describing at some length the position of Polycarp of Smyrna as a vehicle of apostolic tradition, Irenaeus continues:[60] "Then again, the Church of Ephesus, founded (*τεθεμελιωμένη*) by Paul,—but John too remained among them down to the times of Trajan,—is a true witness of the tradition of the apostles."

While Irenaeus regards the traditions of the Roman Church as Petrine and Pauline, he views the traditions of the Asiatic Churches, at least in practice, as mainly Johannine. Yet, though he styles Peter and Paul the founders of the Roman Church, the founder of the Ephesian Church was in his eyes not John but Paul. Surely, had it been Irenaeus' custom to use the term "founder" in a wider sense, he would have linked John with

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[60] *Adv. Haer.* III, iii, 4; ed. Harvey II, p. 15; MPG 7, 854 B.

Paul in the founderhood of the Ephesian Church. His restriction of the title to Paul shows clearly enough that he employed θεμελιοῦν in the strict sense of first foundation.

From the standpoint of today, one might urge that Paul's authorship of the *Epistle to the Romans* would be sufficient to assure him the title of founder of the Roman Church. It may, however, be seriously doubted that such was Irenaeus' understanding of the title, or the understanding of Christian antiquity. In the Four Gospel passage there is no reference whatsoever to Rom., and in the other two passages quoted above the two apostles are viewed rather from the standpoint of oral tradition. In all three passages, Irenaeus has clearly in mind the actual evangelical labors of the two apostles in the imperial city. Furthermore, if the composition of Rom. and the transmission of that document to the Christians of Rome had constituted Paul a "founder" of the Roman Church in the eyes of Irenaeus, his views on the composition of the various Johannine documents at Ephesus should in like maner have caused him to join John with Paul in the founderhood of the Ephesian Church. As for the views of Christian antiquity, though most of Paul's letters were addressed to Churches actually founded by that apostle, it does not appear that the mere receipt of such letters was considered sufficient to qualify the Church so honored as a foundation of the apostle. Thus, notwithstanding Paul's authorship of the great Christological letter to the Church of Colossae, Epaphras was regarded not only by Paul himself[61] but also by the commentators[62] of subsequent ages as the founder of the Colossian Church.

In view of all this, it may be safely inferred that Irenaeus looked on Paul as a co-founder with Peter of the Roman Church, as a collaborator with Peter in the work of laying the first foundation of that Church. If so, then Irenaeus must have considered the arrival of the two apostles at Rome as more or less contemporaneous. For Irenaeus could not have styled either Peter or Paul as "founder," in the strict sense, of the Roman Church, if he had regarded either apostle as long preceding the other in the gospel ministry at Rome. In the case of Ephesus, if we are to judge by Irenaeus' way of speaking[63] of John's long residence in that city, our author may well have dated that apostle's arrival at Ephesus as early as the destruction of Jerusalem. Nonetheless, it was the earlier three years' sojourn of Paul in the Asiatic metropolis (cf. Acts 20:31) that constituted Paul alone, in the eyes of Irenaeus, the "founder" of the Ephesian Church. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that Irenaeus, treating Peter and Paul as first founders of the Roman Church, viewed the arrival of both apostles at Rome as approximately contemporaneous.

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[61] Cf. Col. 1:7; 4:12-13.

[62] Cf. Chrysostom, *in Col.*, Hom. I, 1 (MPG 62, 300); Ambrosiaster, *in Col.* 1:7; 2:1 (MPL 17, 421 C; 427 AB); Euthalius Alex., *in Col. Argumentum* (MPG 85, 704 B); Theodore of Mopsuestia, *in Col. Argumentum,* and 1:7 (ed. Swete, Vol. I, pp. 253; 257). Theodoret of Cyrus who misinterprets the text of Col. 1:7, is the one exception: cf. *in Col. Argumentum* (MPG 82, 592 B-593 A.

To pass on now to the other term of the labors of the two apostles at Rome, Irenaeus seems to have held that the deaths of the two founders of the Roman Church occurred about the same time. His statement, already quoted,[64] that Peter and Paul, after founding and establishing the Roman Church, "committed into the hands of Linus the sacred office of the episcopate" of that Church, seems to imply the close contemporaneity of their martyrdoms. This inference receives some support from the fact that in his subjoined catalogue of the Roman bishops, Irenaeus thrice repeats[65] the expression *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων* as he indicates the numerical position of three different pontiffs in the order of succession. Furthermore, if the word *ἔξοδον* (excessum) in the Markan testimony signifies death, the phrase *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον* would seem by its very form to imply the contemporaneity of the two deaths. That expression, moreover, is used by Irenaeus as a common *terminus post quem* for what he has to say of Mark's literary activity: Irenaeus uses the two deaths to mark the point of time after which Mark's activity, as he describes it, took place.

2. Irenaeus' Views on New Testament Chronology. We have just given what seems to be a fair exposé of Irenaeus' views on the dual apostolate of Peter and Paul at Rome. It is now our task to interpret our author's views on that apostolate in terms

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[63] *Adv. Haer.* II, xxii, 5; III, iii, 4; ed. Harvey I, p. 331; II, p. 15; MPG 7, 785 A; 854 B.

[64] Cf. *supra,* p. 166.

[65] Referring to the pontificates of Clement, Xystus and Eleutherus: cf. *Adv. Haer.* III, iii, 3; ed. Harvey II, pp. 10 f.; MPG 7, 849 B–851 A.

of *his own* chronology. For our aim is to determine how Irenaeus understood the synchronism in which we are interested.

Just as it would be exaggerated to maintain that Irenaeus was over-interested in matters of chronology, so it would be excessive to assert that he disregarded them entirely. In *Adv. Haereses* Irenaeus does occasionally betray an interest in time-intervals and dates. With reference to our present problem, it may be stated at once that Irenaeus nowhere speaks explicitly of Peter's coming to Rome, much less of the date of that event. The only visit of Paul to Rome which Irenaeus mentions, is the sojourn indicated in Acts 28:16 ff. As, however, Irenaeus seems to have regarded the arrivals of Peter and Paul at the capital as practically simultaneous, it will be sufficient to determine, according to Irenaeus' chronology, the time when Paul first came to Rome.

Irenaeus' New Testament chronology turns on the times assigned by him to the birth, baptism and death of Christ. Speaking of the antiquity of the Septuagint, Irenaeus refers[66] somewhat parenthetically to the date of Christ's birth: "natus est enim Dominus noster circa primum et quadragesimum annum Augusti imperii." In like manner, Irenaeus is very definite on the time of Christ's baptism. Under the direct influence of Lk. 3:23, he makes this statement:[67] "Ad baptismum enim venit [sc. Christus] nondum qui triginta annos suppleverat, sed qui inciperet esse tamquam triginta annorum: ita enim, qui eius annos significavit Lucas, posuit: 'Iesus autem erat quasi incipiens triginta annorum,' cum veniret ad baptismum."

And now for the extraordinary features of Irenaeus' chronology. Bitterly opposed to the use made by the Gnostics of the text "vocare annum Domini acceptum," (Lk. 4:19=Is. 61:2) Irenaeus resisted with great force the hypothesis, commonly defended by those heretics, that Christ's death occurred in the twelfth month of his one year of public ministry.[68] This aversion to the Gnostic position along with an alleged testimony of the Asiatic presbyters[68a] led Irenaeus to defend the extraordinary thesis that Christ's death took place at least fifteen years after his baptism. And he saw an additional argument for this theory in the question put to Jesus by the Jews: "Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?" (Jn. 8:57) Our author's comment[69] on this verse sums up his own position: "Hoc autem consequenter dicitur ei, qui iam XL annos excessit, quinquagesimum autem annum nondum attigit, non tamen a quinquagesimo anno absistit." And a few lines further on, he reaffirms his position against the Gnostics in a manner that leaves no doubt about his own views: "Non ergo multum aberat [sc, Christus] a quinquaginta annis: et ideo dicebant ei, 'Quinquaginta annorum nondum est, et Abraham vidisti?' Non ergo anno uno praedicavit, nec duodecimo mense anni passus est. Tempus enim a trigesimo anno usque ad quinquagesimum nunquam erit unus annus...." According to Irenaeus, therefore, Christ who was baptized around the age of 30, was over 45 years of age sometime in the course of his public life.

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[66] *Adv. Haer.* III, xxi, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 115; MPG 7, 949 B.

[67] *Adv. Haer.* II, xxii, 5; ed. Harvey I, p. 330; MPG 7, 784 C.

[68] For this paragraph, cf. *Adv. Haer.* II, xxi, 3-6; ed. Harvey I, pp. 328-332; MPG 7, 782 C–783 A.

[68a] It is likely that in this matter Irenaeus was directly dependent on Papias' writings. Dom Chapman argued on the strength of a passage in Victorinus' *De Fabrica Mundi* (MPL 5, 313 A) that Irenaeus may have

Although Irenaeus never hints either in *Adv. Haereses* or in his *Demonstratio praedicationis apostolicae* that Christ died under Tiberius († 37 A.D.), scholars were formerly inclined to think that our author could hardly have been serious in this strange view. For Irenaeus certainly not only alludes[70] to the contents of Lk. 3:1 (where Pilate is described as procurator under Tiberius), but he also shows, in an indirect quotation[71] from the *Gospel* of Marcion, that he knew about Pilate's procuratorship under Tiberius. Furthermore, Irenaeus asserts on several occasions[72] that Christ died under Pilate.

And yet, despite the inconsistencies involved, Irenaeus must have followed his theory of a public life of fifteen or more years in all its consequences. For in his *Demonstratio praedicationis apostolicae*, which comes down to us in a reliable Armenian

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misunderstood a mystical interpretation of Papias' for an expression of historical fact. Cf. John Chapman, "Papias on the Age of Our Lord," *Journ. Theol. Stud.* IX (1908) pp. 42 ff.; esp. pp. 53 ff.

[69] *Adv. Haer.* II, xxii, 6; ed. Harvey I, pp. 331 f.; MPG 7, 785 B.

[70] *Adv. Haer.* III, xiv, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 77; MPG 7, 915 B.

[71] "Iesum autem ... venientem in Iudaeam temporibus Pontii Pilati praesidis, qui fuit procurator Tiberii Caesaris, ... [Marcion Ponticus] dicit." *Adv. Haer.* I, xxvii, 1; ed. Harvey I, p. 216; MPG 7, 688 A. Cf. A. von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium von fremden Gott* (Texte und Untersuchungen, XLV; Leipzig: Hinrichs, ed. 2, 1924), p. 184*.

[72] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* III, iv, 2; and *passim.*

version discovered in 1904, Irenaeus makes this blunt but consistent statement:[73]

> Denn Herodes, der König der Juden, und Pontius Pilatus, *der Prokurator des Kaisers Claudius,* zusammengekommen, verurteilten ihn zur Kreuzigung. Denn Herodes hatte Angst davor, dass er ein irdischer König sein sollte, durch welchen er von seinem Königtum abgesetzt werden könnte. Pilatus aber wurde von Herodes und von den ihn umgebenden Juden genötigt, ihn gegen seinen Willen dem Tode zu übergeben, indem er lieber das tat, als gegen den Kaiser wirkte durch Errettung eines Menschen, der den Namen "König" trug.

Before proceeding to an approximate evaluation of his Gospel chronology in terms of our Dionysian era, it will be well to summarize Irenaeus's relative dates for the central events of the life of Christ:

1. Birth: Around the 41st year of the *imperium* of Augustus (*Adv. Haer.*);
2. Baptism: When Christ was entering his 30th year (*Adv. Haer.*);
3. Death: a) Christ was still teaching at an age between 40 and 50, but nearer 50 than 40 (*Adv. Haer.*);
   b) Christ died in the reign of Claudius (*Demonstratio*).

Evidently, if Irenaeus' data on the age of Christ at the time of the passion[74] are taken into account, the interval between Christ's baptism and passion—the period of the public life—must have been more than 15 years.

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[73] K. Ter-Mekerttschian and E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Des Heiligen Irenäus Schrift zum Erweise der apostolischen Verkündigung* (Texte und Untersunchungen, XXI, 1; Leipzig, 1907), no. 74, p. 41. Cf. also the following statement made by J. Tixeront in his prolegomena to Barthoulot's translation of the *Demonstratio* (in *Rech. de science religieuse,* VI [1916] p. 362): "Au chapitre 74, il (viz., Irenaeus) fait de Ponce-Pilate le procurateur de l'empereur Claude (41-54), donnée singulière qui concorde avec l'opinion, singulière aussi, de saint Irénée (Adv. Haer. II, xxii, 5-6) d'après laquelle Notre-Seigneur serait mort à l'âge de quarante-cinq à cinquante ans, et, par conséquent, non sous le règne de Tibère, mais sous celui de Claude."

[74] Strictly speaking, Irenaeus could be interpreted as intending in *Adv. Haer.* II, xxii, 6 (cf. *supra,* p. 170 f.) to give the time, not of the passion, but rather of that period of Christ's public life narrated in Jn. 8. Still, as Irenaeus' main purpose in the section is to set forth the duration of Christ's teaching career in opposition to the Gnostic position, we have an implicit indication of our author's views on the time of Christ's passion and death. For the rest, Irenaeus is explicit in his *Demonstratio.*

Though extraordinary, the chronological system of Irenaeus is not wholly without parallel. A somewhat similar system seems to have been propounded by St. Alexander of Jerusalem († A.D. 251).[75] In this latter system, the consulships dating the birth, baptism and death of Christ are those of the years A.D. 9, 46 and 58 respectively! Evidently, in this chronology, Christ would have been about 49 years of age at the time of his death. According to George Syncellus,[76] the Byzantine chronicler, this system was earlier taught by the Roman martyr bishop Hippolytus. Dom Chapman[76a] argues that this system really owes its origin to Hippolytus in the earlier period of that writer's career.

With regard to the year assigned to the birth of Christ, St. Epiphanius[77] is in accord with this system of Alexander. George Syncellus[78] follows Alexander both in the year assigned to Christ's birth and in the year assigned to his death. The source used by Epiphanius seems to have regarded the year of Christ's birth as the 40th year of Augustus although Epiphanius himself preferred to treat it as the 42d year of that emperor. George Syncellus, on the other hand, speaks of the year of Christ's birth as the 43d of the emperor Augustus.

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[75] An anonymous excerptor states that he discovered this system in certain commentaries of Victorinus (of Pettau, † *c.* 304 A.D.) and that Victorinus in turn had found it in writings of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem. The excerptor's text comes down to us in two MSS.: a 9th Cent. Bobbio MS., now at the Ambrosian Library in Milan; and a 15th Cent. MS. of the Univ. of Padua Library. The former, first publisher by Muratori (reprint *apud* MPL 129, 1369 BC), has been critically edited by E. von Dobschütz, *Das Kerygma Petri* (Texte and Untersuchungen, XI, 1; Leipzig, 1893), p. 137. Cf. also *apud* M. J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, 5 Vols. (Oxonii: Typis Acad., ed. 2, 1846-48), Vol. II, p. 178. The Paduan MS. has been reproduced by Dom Germain Morin; cf. *Journ. Theol. Stud.* VII (1906) p. 459. Dom Chapman (cf. *Journ. Theol. Stud.* VIII [1908] p. 593 has offered a conjectural restoration of the excerptor's text on the basis of these two MSS.

[76] Text *apud* E. von Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[76a] Cf. John Chapman, "On an Apostolic Tradition that Christ was baptized in 46 and crucified under Nero," *Journ. Theol. Stud.* VIII (1907) pp. 590-606; esp. pp. 600 ff.

[77] Cf. Epiphanius, *Panarion, Haer.* LI, xxix, 1-6; CGS Berol., Epiphan. Tom. II, p. 300; MPG 41, 937 BC.

[78] Texts *apud* Dom Chapman, *loc. cit.*, *Journ. Theol. Stud.* VIII (1907) p. 595.

Despite this general resemblance, there are considerable differences between the 'system of Alexander' and that of Irenaeus. While our author places Christ's death in the reign of Claudius, Alexander locates it in the time of Nero! Indeed, if Dom Chapman's critique[78a] is sound, the calculations followed in Alexander's system omitted entirely the reign of Claudius, transposing the time of that emperor to a later date. At all events, Alexander's system would make Christ about 37 years old at the baptism whereas Irenaeus clearly places that event at the beginning of Christ's 30th year. And so, even though they have certain features in common, the two systems cannot be treated as identical. And, consequently, there is no reason to suppose that Irenaeus understood the year A.D. 9 as his "forty-first year of the *imperium* of Augustus." While the source followed by Epiphanius probably calculated the "40th year of Augustus," in the eastern manner, from the Battle of Articum (A.U.C. 723=B.C. 31), the designations of A.D. 9 as the "42nd year of Augustus" by Epiphanius himself and as the "43d year" of that emperor of Syncellus are inaccurate.

In view of the fact that Irenaeus places Christ's death in the reign of Claudius (viz., A.D. 41-54), it is more likely that our author calculated this 41st year of Augustus from one of the earlier *initia computi* of that reign: either from Octavian's first consulship (A.U.C. 712=B.C. 42), or from the year of the first triumvirate (A.U.C. 711=B.C. 43), or finally from the death of Julius Caesar (A.U.C. 710=B.C. 44). According to this last computation, Irenaeus would date Christ's birth *c.* 750 A.U.C. (=B.C. 4). The death of Christ would consequently occur *c.* 796 A.U.C. (=A.D. 43),—if we allow the Savior an age of 46 years at the time of the passion. This is a minimum interpretation of Irenaeus' views. It is true that Harnack, in a note[79] on the lines of Irenaeus' *Demonstratio* quoted above, was of the opinion that our author had the year 41 A.D. in mind, as that year finds some support in a confused passage[80] of Hippolytus's *Commentary on Daniel.* Still, Harnack seems to have lost sight of the fact that

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[78a] Cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 597 ff.

[79] Cf. *apud* K. Ter-Mekerttschian and E. Ter-Minassiantz, *op. cit.*, (Texte u. Unters., XXI, 1), p. 62.

[80] Cf. Hippolytus, *Comment. in Dan.*, IV, 23; CGS Berol., Hippolyt. Tom. I, p. 242. Dom Chapman's explanation of this confused text is worth noting: cf. *loc. cit.*, *Journ. Theol. Stud.* VIII (1907) pp. 601 f.

Irenaeus made Christ nearer 50 than 40 years of age at the time of his passion and death.

The following conspectus of dates for the key events of Christ's life probably represents Irenaeus's views with fair accuracy:

1. Birth:	*c.* 750. A.U.C.	=*c.* 4 B.C.
2. Baptism:	*c.* 780 A.U.C.	=*c.* 27 A.D.
3. Death:	*c.* 796-799 A.U.C.	=*c.* 43-46 A.D.

So as to avoid all appearance of exaggerating Irenaeus' position, we shall base our further argumentation on the earlier date of Christ's death, viz., *c.* 43 A.D.

And now for Irenaeus's chronology of Acts. Although our author nowhere formally outlines a chronology of the events recounted in Acts, it is reasonable to suppose that he would date all the episodes of that book posterior to the time set down by him for the death of Christ. For, as Irenaeus well knew,[81] the book of Acts takes up where the Gospels leave off. We may then safely assume that the events of Acts were placed by Irenaeus in the period beginning at the year *c.* 43 A.D., the approximate date for the death of Christ in his system of chronology. And in the absence of any contrary indication in Irenaeus or of any counter tradition,[82] we may take it for granted that Irenaeus located the deaths of Peter and Paul not later than the reign of Nero († 68 A.D.).

It is plain of course that Irenaeus never perceived how embarrassing his chronological system is from the standpoint of Acts. The references in that book to the famine under Claudius (cf. Acts 11:28) or to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by that same ruler (cf. Acts 18:2) should alone have been sufficient to convince Irenaeus of the impossibility of his chronology. While it would appear that our author never worked out a systematic chronology of Acts in relation to his gospel chronology, still it would be excessive to suppose that Irenaeus had no minimum views, however vague and indefinite, on the chronology of the early apostolic age.

[81] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* III, xii, 1; ed. Harvey II, p. 52; MPG 7, 892 A.

[82] As for still extant evidence, the first really reliable writer to state explicitly that the deaths of Peter and Paul occurred under Nero seems to be Tertullian: cf. *Scorpiace,* xv; CSEL Vindob., XX, p. 178; MPL 2, 151 B. Still, apart from other sources—oral and written, Roman Clement's *Epist. ad Corinthios* (V, 3-7), with which Irenaeus (cf. *Adv. Haer.* III, iii, 3) was quite familiar, alludes clearly enough to the Neronian persecution.

Certainly, Irenaeus shows[83] that he knew and followed the order of events laid down in Acts. In several instances, he mentions or at least refers implicitly to the time-intervals between events narrated in Acts. Hence, even though Irenaeus made no careful computation of the time-period required for the history of the early Church as found in Acts, he must have been conscious in a general way that even by a minimum calculation from *c.* 43 A.D. onward, the final scenes in Acts could not have been earlier than the closing years of the reign of Nero. For Irenaeus could hardly have assigned a period of less than twenty-five years to the events narrated in Acts.

This statement of ours is not an *a priori* assumption; it is based on the data of *Adv. Haereses.* There Irenaeus himself clearly indicates that the events taking place between the conversion of Paul and the Apostolic Council (viz., Acts 9:1–15:29) covered a period of fourteen years. First of all, Irenaeus identifies[84] the journey to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal. 2:1 with the journey of Paul referred to in Acts 15:3. Then after quoting Paul's statement (Gal. 2:1) "Deinde post XIV annos ascendi in Hierosolymam cum Barnaba, assumens et Titum," Irenaeus makes this comment:[85] "Si quis igitur diligenter ex Actibus Apostolorum scrutetur tempus, de quo scriptum est ascendisse Hierosolymam propter praedictam quaestionem, inveniet eos, qui praedicti sunt a Paulo, annos concurrentes." Supposing then that the "three years" mentioned in Gal. 1:18 were included by Irenaeus within the "fourteen years" of Gal. 2:1 and assuming that Irenaeus would not assign less than a year to the history of the development of the primitive Palestinian Church (cf. Acts 1–8), we may safely conclude that our author would not, indeed could not, have placed the Apostolic Council earlier than *c.* 58 A.D.!

As for the missionary career of Paul subsequent to the Apostolic Council, this is a subject with which Irenaeus was very familiar. With reference to time-data for this period, Irenaeus must have known that Paul's evangelization of Ephesus lasted some three years; for our author quotes[86] from Paul's discourse at Miletus the two verses (viz., Acts 20:29-30) immediately preceding the sentence which indicates the length of Paul's Ephesian ministry. Again, it may be safely presumed that Irenaeus was acquainted with Paul's two years of captivity at Jerusalem and Caesarea (cf. Acts 24:27). For in a rapid summary of this part of Acts, Irenaeus praises the painstaking efforts of the historian Luke in these words:[87] "reliqua . . . refert, omni diligentia demonstrans et loca et civitates et *quantitatem dierum,* quoadusque Hierosolymam ascenderent: et quae illic contigerint Paulo. . ." Furthermore, our author is thoroughly familiar with Luke's narrative of the voyage of Paul from Caesarea to Italy. Acquainted with the details of the shipwreck and of the delay at Malta, conscious too of the customary interruption of navigation in winter, Irenaeus could not help but realize that Paul's voyage must have lasted about half a year. Now these time-data alone would bring Paul's arrival at Rome, in the chronology of Irenaeus, down as late as *c.* 63 A.D.

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[83] Cf. *Adv. Haer.* III, xii, 1—xiv, 2; ed. Harvey II, pp. 52-75; MPG 7, 892-914 A.

[84] Compare *Adv. Haer.* III, xii, 14 with III, xiii, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 69 and pp. 73 f.; MPG 7, 907 f. and 912.

[85] *Adv. Haer.* III, xiii, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 74; MPG 7, 912 B.

[86] *Adv. Haer.* III, xiv, 2; ed. Harvey II, p. 76; MPG 7, 915 A.

Moreover, even though Irenaeus never quotes from chapter 18 of Acts where Paul's first Corinthian ministry is described as lasting about a year and a half (cf. Acts 18:11), it is difficult to suppose that Irenaeus was ignorant of that ministry or of its duration. Then again, as an Asiatic himself, Irenaeus would know that the mighty journeys across Asia Minor in Paul's second and third missionary expeditions had required no inconsiderable amount of time. Some years, therefore, must be added to the computation made in the preceding paragraph. On the other hand, as Irenaeus certainly knew of Paul's two years of captivity at Rome,[88] and as he must have dated Paul's martyrdom in the time of Nero, he could not place the arrival of that apostle at Rome later than 66 A.D.[89]

Consequently, the arrival of Peter at Rome—according to Irenaeus' position on the contemporaneous apostolate of Peter and Paul in Rome—, cannot have been dated by Irenaeus much before 66 A.D. Hence, when Irenaeus speaks in our Four Gospel passage of the preaching of Peter and Paul at Rome, he has in mind the latter half of the seventh decade of the first century. This conclusion seems inevitable in the light of Irenaeus' historical and chronological views. And in accordance with this conclusion, Irenaeus, synchronizing the publication of Aramaic Mt. with the preaching of Peter and Paul at Rome, must have dated that document around 66 A.D.

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[87] *Adv. Haer.* III, xiv, 1; ed. Harvey II, p. 75; MPG 7, 913 B.

[88] The prase "quanto tempore Romae commorati sunt" (*Adv. Haer.* III, xiv, 1; ed. Harvey II, p. 75; MPG 7, 914 A) clearly refers to Acts 28:30.

[89] J. E. Belser, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, ed. 2, 1905), pp. 79 ff., suggested that Irenaeus might have been an early proponent of that view of later writers which placed the death of Peter in the first years of Nero's reign. But Irenaeus' special chronology excludes any such possibility.—We may note here that Irenaeus shows a general knowledge of the emperors of the first century. His references to Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Domitian and Trajan are without error in their chronology.

3. Irenaeus' Synchronism Worthless. We have interpreted the phrase *τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου κτλ.* in terms of Irenaeus' own chronology; we have seen how Irenaeus must have understood his synchronism. Certainly, as understood by Irenaeus, that synchronism needs no refutation. It supposes that Paul, and apparently Peter too, began the evangelization of Rome at an impossibly late date. For as Irenaeus follows very closely the account of Paul's career in Acts, there is no room for the possible hypothesis that Irenaeus supposed a Pauline evangelization of Rome earlier than that mentioned in Acts 28:16 ff. Founded on his false chronology of New Testament times, Irenaeus' understanding of the synchronism is as valueless as his chronological system.

Even apart from Irenaeus' system of chronology, the synchronism, as it stands, is unacceptable. We have already seen[90] that the participle *θεμελιούντων* is to be given its strict sense. In other words, Paul is presented as a real founder of the Roman Church. Now this position is so manifestly counter to the clear-cut evidence[91] both of Acts and of Rom., that it seems hard to impute such a blunder to the learned bishop of Lugdunum. Still, as we have noted already,[92] Irenaeus made even greater blunders in matters where the evidence was clearer than here. As then the participial synchronism involves a substantial error of history, as it implies a situation that never existed, it cannot serve us, at least in its present form, as a time-mark to define the date of Aramaic Mt.

(*To be continued*)

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[90] Cf. *supra*, pp. 166 ff.

[92] Cf. *supra*, p. 171.

[91] Cf. Acts 18:2; 28:15 ff.; Rom. 1:8 ff.; 15:20 ff.; 16:19.

RELATIVITY IN ROMANS

In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for July-October, 1941, I endeavored in the first part of my article to show that "in Holy Scripture the negative is sometimes used in a relative sense" (p. 155), and in the second part, in the light of this principle, to interpret the language of the Prophets in regard of sacrifice. Relativity, however, has a wider bearing, not directly bound up with the use of the negative; this wider usage, too, if I mistake not, is especially characteristic of Holy Writ, though it is found to some extent in all languages and literatures. My present purpose is to set forth what appears to be the most striking example of it, to be found in the Epistle to the Romans.

For the sake of clearness I shall state at once in rather crude outline the three different explanations of the sins of mankind to be found in different parts of the Epistle, explanations which (I suggest) can only be reconciled with each other by this appeal to relativity. Sin, then, is attributed (1) to God "delivering up" men to it, in Rom. 1:24,26,28; (2) to Adam as the general cause, in Rom. 5:12-21; (3) to lust, in Rom. 7:7-23.

St. Paul, after the manner of biblical writers, but (I think) to a greater extent than others, presses home one aspect of the truth without regard to others; it is part of the business of the exegete to allow for all of them in his synthesis. He dictated this epistle (Rom. 16:22), as he doubtless dictated the others. I accept its unity, but do not propose to discuss critical questions which are not very relevant. He must have thought mainly in Greek, which alone could lend such subtlety and agility to his thought; in this differing from St. John, who to the end appears to have thought mainly in Aramaic. The Pauline Epistles are not elaborately prepared compositions, but rather the outpouring of a full heart and a quick mind, ready to follow up any passing thought that suggests itself, though without forgetting to return anon to the main theme. Thus in 1 Corinthians the Apostle twice digresses from the topic of idol-offerings, begun in 6:12-13 and 8:1-13, but only concluded in 10:14–11:1; and in Rom. 3:1-8 he touches upon several topics to which he does not return until the sixth chapter. Nor is he attempting to give a first instruction in his epistles. He has already taught the Corinthians his doctrine of the Eucharist (1 Cor. 11:23); otherwise his appeal to it in order to greater reverence would have no force. And so with regard to Christ's resurrection (15:3), which is merely the introduction and basis to his main argument. One may add 2 Thess. 2:5, and many other passages. Nor, yet again, does he make a serious attempt to prove his teaching; it is enough that he is an apostle, and has received it by divine revelation. His treatment of the Old Testament is far too rabbinical for us to suppose that he intended a rigid demonstration in every case in which he appeals to it.[1]

It has seemed worth while to make these few preliminary remarks in order to make my main point more credible and intelligible. I come now to the first passage, based upon Wisdom 13, with which, indeed, St. Paul appears to suppose the Romans already familiar, for he passes very lightly over the chief contention there, *viz.*, that God can be known as creator (*γενεσιάρχης*, *γενεσιουργός*, Wis. 13:3,5), but asserts strongly (1) that men already possess the knowledge of God but repress it (*τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*, 1:9; *οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν*, 28); and (2) that God as a punishment has delivered them over to their sins, as above. That they are delivered up, however, does not prevent them from being guilty (32), an idea, indeed, which would not harmonize with the main argument of the Epistle (3:9-19, etc.), which sets forth the universal need, and then the granting, of justification. With regard to this "delivering up," Catholic theologians would agree, I think, that punishment for sin may take the form of the withholding of graces without which man might resist further temptations, but will not as a fact do so. The Greeks had a somewhat similar doctrine, found, for example, in Aeschylus, *Persae*, ll. 821-22, that *ὕβρις* was punished by *ἄτη*, arrogance, if one may give a rough translation, by infatuation.

We find quite another presentation of the matter in Rom. 5:12-21. We were God's enemies, but have been "reconciled to God through the death of His Son" (10), and it is in order to show why we have cause to "boast" of this "reconciliation" (11) that St. Paul draws out the contrast between Christ and Adam: Adam has been the source of sin to all, Christ the source of grace, reigning through justness unto life everlasting (21).

[1] In this connection I may mention a recent work of Père Bonsirven, S.J., already well known from other Jewish studies: *Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne* (Paris, 1939), and two articles upon it by Rev. John J. Collins, S.J., in *CBQ* Vol. III, pp. 15 ff., 145 ff.

The argument takes a somewhat surprising form. Through Adam all are under condemnation (16) and have been constituted sinners (19); the guilt thus implied was not their own, but Adam's. How do we know that the guilt is there? Because the punishment of guilt is there. Sin, or rather sinfulness,[2] entered into the world through Adam, and through sinfulness came death, and in the same way (*οὕτως*), i.e., for the same reason, death passed upon all men, because *all* had sinned (12), even those who had not sinned in precisely the same way as Adam (14).

The punishment is there; therefore, the guilt is there. But the guilt is not that of the individual sinner: it is Adam's. The reason is that "sinfulness is not imputed where there is no law" (13). Adam had an explicit command from God, and sinned against it; so also, from the time of Moses, the Jews have had the explicit commands of God (14); but the punishment has not been limited to Adam or to the Jews, but has spread to all mankind.

The words which imply that guilt and condemnation have come from Adam are so strong that it does not seem enough to explain them merely by the coming of lust (which, however, is traced to Adam in Gen. 3:7); and, indeed, while there is no mention of lust here, there is no mention of Adam in Romans 7. On the other hand, it is generally admitted by those who hold original sin in the strict sense that, as compared to personal sins, it is sin only in an analogous sense, since in Adam's decendants the sin is not personal, but racial, consisting in the forfeiture of a supernatural endowment which in the divine plan was to have been hereditary, but was never due to human nature as such. And again, St. Paul has a way of looking upon things in the concrete, without much analysis or distinction. The Law is for him mainly the Law as actually practiced by the Pharisee; faith is usually "faith working through charity" (Gal. 5:6); sinfulness is likewise a force working itself out in further sins.

If all this is to be reconciled with Romans 1, it must be said that, with proper recognition of God, man need not have fallen into his desperate condition; and that now, as St. Paul proceeds to show, he has received his supreme opportunity to extricate himself.

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[2] *ἁμαρτία*: for sinful *acts* other words are here used *παράβασις* (14), *παράπτωμα* (15, 17, 18), *παρακοή* (19).

But how does this evil force of sinfulness act upon him? This is explained in Rom. 7, which includes a fuller explanation of the principle already enuntiated: "sinfulness is not imputed where there is no law" (5:13), which now becomes, "without the Law sin is dead" (7:8). Sinfulness, that is to say, remains largely unconscious, and therefore cannot be fully imputed. It may be worth while to quote St. John Chrysostom, the greatest interpreter of St. Paul among the Fathers, upon the latter saying:

> Seest thou, that unless we explain the words with due reverence, and look to the Apostle's scope, myriad absurdities will follow? For if they sinned in ignorance, they did not deserve to be punished. As, then, he said above, *without the Law sin is dead* (7:8), not meaning that they did not know they were sinning, but that they knew, yet not so distinctly—wherefore they were punished, yet not so severely—and as he saith again, *I had not known lust* (7:7), not signifying entire ignorance, but referring to absolutely clear knowledge, . . . so here also it is not entire ignorance that he means.[3]

"Here also" refers to 7:15, which he has reached in his exposition. Thus he is ready to admit the absence or ignorance of any positive divine precept as an extenuating circumstance of great importance, but not as proof of innocence. Adam from without and lust from within both have their place—though a very different one—in explaining the sinfulness of the world, but there still remains the truth which opens the epistle, that it is a punishment from God. Much more might be written, of course, upon this subject, but enough has perhaps been set down to support the view that, while the Roman Epistle is the most theological of the books of Holy Scripture, it is also the one which most needs for its exposition the principle of relativity, without which it is often obscure or confusing.

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[3] *Homiliae in Epist. ad Romanos, XIII,* 1.

ASCETICAL AND MYSTICAL TRAITS OF MOSES AND ELIAS

By *Asceticism* we understand here any form of self-discipline, not only of the body, but also and especially of the mind, heart and will undertaken through love of God and the desire for spiritual perfection. We understand *Mysticism,* taken in a more restricted sense, to be an experimental knowledge of God's presence, a knowledge without intermediary, a sense of contact with Him. It is infused contemplation and mystical union in the various degrees of prayer, of quiet, and of semi-ecstatic, ecstatic, and transforming union.

Ascetical and Mystical Theology, like Dogmatic and Moral Theology, are based on divine revelation as contained in Scripture and Tradition; but since they are eminently practical sciences, one of their first duties is to study the lives of those whom Scripture and Tradition honor as Saints and models of spiritual perfection.

Persons and events in the Old Testament are often symbols foreshadowing supernatural truths, made clearly manifest in the light of the New Testament. In his glorious Transfiguration on Tabor, Christ, the divine model and ideal of spiritual perfection, appeared between Moses and Elias: the Gospel between the Law and the Prophets. Moses and Elias, the most outstanding leaders and spiritual guides of the chosen people, shall be, therefore, the subject of this brief study.

I. MOSES. The eminent sanctity of Moses is extolled in Ecclesiasticus (45:1-6) in words which are equivalent to a divine canonization: "Moses, beloved of God, and men: whose memory is in benediction." Certainly, the "beloved of God, and men" must have possessed in a very high degree the love of God and neighbour to the end of his life if his memory was still "in benediction" centuries later when the inspired author of Ecclesiasticus wrote this eulogy. He had fulfilled "the greatest and first commandment" of the love of God and man, in which spiritual perfection essentially consists, according to the common teaching of the Theologians.

"He made him like the saints in glory" (Ecclus. 45:2) glorious as the saints in the wonderful and miraculous deeds of his heroic life; wonderful in the glory of his eternal reward, and the glorious immortality of his name, held in benediction. Since the

Church applies this eulogy of Moses to her own saints in the liturgy of the Mass in the Epistle "Dilectus Deo et hominibus" of the *Missa pro Abbatibus*, it is clear that the words of Ecclesiasticus refer to Moses' sanctity. Sanctity implies heroic virtues. Moses' virtues, practiced for more than forty years in the most trying circumstances, could be nothing but heroic to the highest degree. Most outstanding of his moral virtues was his meekness: "Moses was a man exceeding meek above all men that dwelt upon earth" (Num. 12:3.). "He sanctified him in his faith, and meekness, and chose him out of all flesh" (Ecclus. 45:4.). In this he was a perfect prototype of the future Messias.

The very soul of the spiritual life is prayer. Moses' prayer was most efficacious and pleasing to the Lord because of his heroic faith and meekness: "He heard him, and his voice and brought him into a cloud" (Ecclus. 45:5). His prayer was instrumental in winning battles and routing the enemies of his people (Ex., 17:11-14), and in disarming the hand of the Almighty Himself, ready to strike down and destroy his people for the sin of idolatry (Ex. 32:1-14). It was precisely on this latter occasion that Moses' heroic charity toward his neighbour manifested itself in all its sublime perfection when he pleaded with God: "Either forgive them this trespass, or if thou do not, strike me out of book that thou has written" (Ex. 32:31-32).

"He heard him, . . . and brought him into a cloud." Moses' communion with God in the mysterious darkness of a cloud on Mount Sinai has always been considered a biblical example of the highest mystical experience. "The Lord said to him:—Lo now will I come to thee in the darkness of a cloud." The divine manifestation was first granted to Moses in the light, but, afterwards, God spoke to him in a cloud. Then, having become more perfect and sublime, he saw God in a darkness" (St. Greg. Nyss: *Hom. in Cant. C.*, Migne, P.G., Vol. 44). Many classical mystical expressions have their origin in Moses' experience: the "super-brilliant darkness of the mystery-teaching silence" of the Pseudo-Areopagite (*De Myst. Theol.;* Migne, P.G., Vol. 3); "the Cloud of the Unknowing" by an unknown author of the fourteeth century; "the Dark Night" of the soul, of St. John of the Cross.

Many may find paradoxical the assertion that Moses had a mystical soul. How could he, the leader, the liberator, the captain, the lawgiver, the judge of a nation, moving among hostile tribes to the conquest of a promised land, indulge in the mystical repose of contemplation? It is true that mysticism implies infused contemplation and, therefore, a certain degree of passivity in prayer, but from such contemplation and union with God a fire is kindled in the soul which only the most daring and heroic deeds for the glory of God and the salvation of immortal souls can appease in any measure. The true mystics have always been most active apostles, like St. Paul, St. Benedict, St. Augustine, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Teresa of Avila, etc. Passivity in prayer does not imply passivity in life in general, nor inactivity.

"And the Lord spoke to Moses face to face, as a man is wont to speak to his friend" (Ex. 33:11). These words and the remaining verses of the same chapter are evidence of a most singular and intimate familiarity between God and his servant. God communicates directly with Moses. This was not, however, the "face to face" of the Beatific Vision, which St. Paul promises (1 Cor. 13:9ff.) the faithful in the life to come. In fact, such a vision was expressly denied to Moses in his mortal life: "Thou canst not see my face: for man shall not see me and live" (Ex. 33:20). Moses had been pleading with God, like so many mystic souls, for a more complete and clearer sight of that eternal beauty he had perceived but fleetingly in the dark cloud of contemplation, or through visions, divine locutions, divine touches. It seems as if the Lord condescended to a kind of compromise with Moses when he permitted him to see a kind of afterglow of glory when He had passed (Ex. 33:21,23). The fact that Moses desired not an ordinary knowledge of God but the most sublime form of divine perception, such as is usually granted in the mystical transforming or deifying union, is brought out by St. Augustine in his *De Genesi ad Litteram* (L. 12, c. 27, 55): "He [Moses] had desired to see God, as we read in Exodus, but certainly not as he had seen Him on the Mount, nor as he was accustomed to see Him in the Tabernacle (Ex. 19:18; 33:39), but in that very substance by which God exists, without any medium of a bodily creature."

Such a knowledge of the divine essence, as St. Augustine remarks in the same place, is not possible to man until he has first passed through the doors of death in some way or other, that is, until he has experienced either the real death of the body or the mystical death, namely, the ecstatic alienation of the senses in infused contemplation, in which a person does not know whether he is still in the body, or out of the body, as St. Paul witnesses (2 Cor. 12:3). The Beatific Vision is granted only in the next life, and therefore after corporal death; but it seems that Moses wished to obtain such a divine favor during the present life. This could not possibly be granted him unless he first died somewhat, ("nisi ab hac vita quisque quodammodo moriatur" St. Aug., *l.c.*), namely, in a mystical state of sense-alienation, in a rapture, in a flight of the spirit or through an intellectual vision. Mystical knowledge, no matter how sublime, is always incomplete, and leaves a burning desire to know and see more of God, an intense longing for the Beatific Vision in which God is seen as He is. It could be that Moses had precisely such a vision in mind, when he asked "Show me thy glory" (Ex. 33:18), because mystical vision longs for heavenly vision and possession.

The mystical union, like the union of the ordinary Unitive Way, involves great purity of conscience (Purgative Way), a constant and illumined practice of virtue (Illuminative Way) and a special predilection of God. That God had such predilection for Moses is clear from the following: "And the Lord said to Moses: This word also, which thou hast spoken, will I do; for thou hast found grace before me, and thee I have known by name" (Ex. 33:17).[1] Moses had walked the narrow paths of virtue and reached the sunny peaks of perfection before he entered the dark cloud of mystical experience. But his was something more than a purely personal experience: "He returned from the Mount, carrying the two tables of the testimony in his hand, written on both sides, and made by the work of God; the writing also of God was graven in the tables" (Ex. 32:15-16). He was carrying the fundamental moral code for mankind, the basic principles of all perfection, the ordinary expression of the love of God and our neighbour. This fact alone would place Moses among the first spiritual guides of mankind and mark him as the first inspired *spiritual writer.*

Moses was one of the very great men of all history, one of the greatest saints of God: "And there arose no more a prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face" (Deut. 34:10). When, near the end of his mortal life and almost in sight of the Promised Land he delivered the Law to the priests, exhorting all his people to keep God's commandments, he pronounced words that will ring to the end of time as a most powerful summons to justice and spiritual perfection: "I call heaven and earth to witness this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing. Choose therefore life, that both thou, and thy seed may live; and that thou mayest love the Lord thy God, and obey His voice, and adhere to Him, for He is thy life and the length of thy days" (Deut. 30:19-20).

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[1] In the Septuagint we have: "Ἔγνων σὲ παρά πάντας": I have known thee above all men.

II. ELIAS: "Yahweh is (my) God." This name was probably taken by the prophet himself and certainly no better name could be given the great defender of Yahweh against the worshippers of Baal and other gods than *Elias.* His appearance on the scene of history, in the first half of the ninth century B.C. in the reign of king Achab (3 Kgs. 17), is as blunt and apocalyptic as his disappearance on a fiery chariot (4 Kgs. 2:11).

In the New Testament, Elias is considered the personification of the ascetical ideal, of the true servant of God. Both Christ (Matt. 16:14) and John the Baptist (Jn. 1:21) were taken by some for Elias; and the Archangel Gabriel predicted that the precursor of Christ would go before him "in the spirit and power of Elias" (Lk. 1:17). In rabbinical literature Elias is "he who is remembered for good." In Jewish legend he has been glorified more than any other biblical personage as the ever-ready helper of Israel in time of danger and distress (Jewish Encyclopedia). Ecclesiasticus (48:1-13), after saying that "Elias the prophet stood up, as a fire, and his word burnt like a torch," that "by the word of the Lord he shut up the heaven, and he brought down fire from heaven thrice," and after recounting more of his wondrous works, concludes: "Blessed are they that saw thee, and were honoured with thy friendship! For we live only in our life, but after death our name shall not be such."

His external mode of life reminds us of our great saints and Fathers of the desert: "So he [Elias] went and did according to the word of the Lord: and going he dwelt by the torrent Carith, which is over against the Jordan. And the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning and bread and flesh in the evening, and he drank of the torrent" (3 Kgs. 17:5-6). His penitential dress was so characteristic of him that a mere description of it was sufficient to denote the prophet himself: "What manner of man was he who met you, and spoke these words? But they said: A hairy man with a girdle of leather about his loins. And he said: It is Elias the Thesbite" (4 Kgs. 1:7-8). Even more than Moses, Elias combined the active and the contemplative life. According to tradition, the time that elapsed between his various public appearances in Israel was spent in retirement, in the solitude of Mount Carmel. In the "schools of the prophets," of which he was head, he formed disciples vowed to the defense of monotheism. He was convinced that deep spirituality and a life of faith are the best protection and apology of faith itself. It is a well known fact that the Carmelite Order venerates the prophet Elias as its founder, tracing its origin to the "sons of the prophets" (4 Kgs. 2:7), and so the greatest mystics of the Catholic Church, St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa of Avila, must have derived no little inspiration and encouragement from him.

With the rigors of an ascetical life, Elias combined mystical elevation of the purest nature. He, too, was subjected to the purifying action of "the Dark Night of the soul" before being elevated to mystical union and knowledge on Mount Horeb. In addition to pain caused by the defection and apostasy of the ten tribes of Israel, he had to suffer relentless persecution from the civil authority. All his fellow prophets had been killed and his own life was sought by Jezabel (3 Kgs. 19:2). We meet him wandering aimlessly through the desert: "Then Elias was afraid, and rising up he went whithersoever he had a mind" (3 Kgs. 19:3). The agony of his soul was such that he asked to die: "And when he was there, and sat under a juniper tree, he requested for his soul that he might die, and said: It is enough for me, Lord, take away my soul: for I am no better than my fathers." (3 Kgs. 19:4). This feeling of hopelessness and dejection is characteristic of the Dark Night, as we may infer from St. John of the Cross' description (*Noche Obscura,* II, 3, 3): "He [God] does this by stripping their faculties, affections and feelings, both spiritual and sensual, both exterior and interior, leaving the understanding dark, the will dry, the memory empty, and the affections of the soul in the deepest affliction, bittterness and straitness, taking from it the pleasure and taste of spiritual things which it had before."

Then from the time "he cast himself down, and slept in the shadow of the juniper tree," a series of mystical and symbolical events of rare beauty took place in close succession, preparatory to the theophany on Mount Horeb: the angel's touch and command to arise and eat, repeated twice; the symbolical food and drink; the forty days' wandering in the desert for a journey of only ten days; God's voice asking for a confession on Mount Horeb. But his repeated confession was nothing if not a profession of his zeal for "the Lord God of hosts" and a denunciation of Israel's crimes. He who had seen fire come down from heaven on God's enemies on three different occasions had to be taught a lesson of moderation and patience. The failure of his zeal was only apparent, like the failure of Moses on Mount Nebo and the great "failure" of Calvary! One day, in the splendors of Tabor, he would be talking with Moses and the Messias of just such a failure to come, while contemplating the glory of its triumph!

Arrived at Mount Horeb, Elias spent the night in a cave, probably the same one in which Moses saw God's majesty pass by, and where he attained his supreme mystical knowledge. Like a pupil he is told to take his lesson: "Go forth, and stand upon the Mount before the Lord: and behold the Lord passeth, and a great and strong wind before the Lord overthrowing the mountains, and breaking the rocks in pieces: the Lord is not in the wind, and after the wind an earthquake: the Lord is not in the earthquake. And after the earthquake a fire: the Lord is not in the fire" (3 Kgs. 19:11-12). Given his state of mind at the moment, Elias would probably have welcomed a cyclonic wind or an earthquake or one of those fires. But the spirit of the Lord is not in these scourges, which he is forced to employ at times when all other means fail. God is essentially good, and His spirit is gentleness itself. This was the lesson Elias was about to learn: "and after the fire *a whistling of a gentle air.* And when Elias heard it, he covered his face with his mantle" (3 Kgs. 19:12-13). This gesture of Elias suggests the great theophany that took place, the nature of which is not explained.

St. John of the Cross seems to understand here one of those divine touches through which infused knowledge of a most sublime and joyful nature is imparted, corresponding to an intellectual vision of the divinity.[2] Elsewhere in his works he speaks of God's appearing to Elias on Mount Horeb (*Subida del Monte Carmelo,* libro III, cap., 42,5)

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[2] "Que por significar este silbo la dicha inteligencia sustancial, piensan algunos teologos que vio' nuestro Padre Elias a Dios en aquel silbo de aire delgado que sintio' en el monte a la boca de su cueva. Alli' le llama la Escritura silbo de aire delgado, porque de la sutil y delicada comunicación del espíritu le nacia la inteligencia" (*Cantico Epiritual,* XIV, 14).

God sent Elias to his people in a period of great apostasy. He will be sent again into this world, according to Malachias (4:5-6): "Behold I will send you Elias the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers: lest I come and strike the earth with anathema." He will be the precursor of Christ in his second advent, "the great and dreadful day." Even then he will find a faithless and sinful world and will meet a violent dead at the hands of God's enemies (Apoc. 11:3-12). But he will be instrumental in one of the greatest miracles of the ages, namely the conversion of the Jewish people. This, at least, is what St. Jerome understands by the words of Malchias, "he shall turn . . . the heart of the children to their fathers."

Elias' vocation and mission is unique among all the prophets and saints. It begins in the Old Testament, is vividly recalled at the beginning of the New Testament, and will see its fulfillment at the end of time.

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PALESTINIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

THE PALEOLITHIC PEOPLE OF PALESTINE

For the past several decades accounts have appeared of discoveries by archeologists in eastern lands that have enlightened us regarding the antiquity of civilization. Cities and villages long buried and forgotten have been uncovered and something of the lives and customs of their dwellers has been revealed.

Palestine, as the reader well knows, was, very naturally, among the lands first explored by the archeologists. Here the obvious motive of these scholars was the uncovering of ancient sites mentioned in the biblical narrative. They were, however, soon to reveal civilizations existing in Palestine long before the coming of the Israelites. But the chronology of the remote past is perhaps not so accurately fixed in the Holy Land as in the adjacent lands of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and it is of importance to us to learn how far back in time the pre-historians have unveiled cultures in these regions.

If the time assigned by the pre-historians to the various periods of civilization existing beyond recorded history is approximately correct, and approximations are all that are claimed for the earlier periods, we shall be in a better position to appreciate the value of estimates made regarding the duration and the time of disappearance of paleolithic man from these same regions. To a certain extent, moreover, correlations of the cultural levels between the different regions have been made and with increase of knowledge these will in the course of time become better established.

Of primary importance, however, is the sequence of the cultural levels, irrespective of their duration in years; for the attempts to fix the duration in years of particular periods are naturally to some extent guesses. Nevertheless the efforts to state the age in years, when based cautiously on data scientifically established, are of value. As a result of such estimates investigators arrive at a certain minimum of years for a particular period and this is of value in affording an approximate time-scale for the appearance of the early races of man. Conscientious estimates of time periods are useful and little progress would be made toward accuracy if scientists were satisfied with a mere reference to a long and dim past. When, however, remote geological ages are expressed in terms of years, they have less significance, for the mind cannot adequately grasp them.

How far back, then, has the archeologist pushed the horizons of civilization which have developed since the disappearance of paleolithic or Stone Age man in these early inhabited regions? Sir W. F. Petrie estimates that the Egyptian pre-dynastic period extended back to 4,500 B.C. This estimate is believed by some to be too great. Yet estimates based on other data approach this figure. The Egyptian calendar system which was based on the time of the rising of Sirius, a time which coincided with the annual inundation of the Nile, is calculated to have been established in 4236 B.C. A large discrepancy in the estimates can hardly be said to exist, for this cultural period obviously must have begun long before such an ingenious invention of the calendar. The Badarian culture of Middle Egypt is believed to extend back to about 5,000 B.C., while a still older culture in this same region of the Nile, the neolithic Tasian, is estimated by Brunton, its discoverer, to extend to 5,500 B.C. At this early period the Egyptians were living in villages and carrying on agricultural pursuits as well as making pottery of a high grade. These Egyptians did not differ physically, except in some detailed features, from some tribes living in that region to-day. And crania of this period have been unearthed in this region with a brain capacity equal to the average of the modern European.

While the above time periods, especially the earlier ones assigned by the archeologists, must be regarded as tentative, it is interesting to note that other explorers in Mesopotamia found the city-stage of civilization to be equal in antiquity to the pre-dynastic of Egypt. At Ur, excavations made under the leadership of C. Leonard Wooley have carried the history of Mesopotamia back to the end of the fourth millenium, and at that time cities flourished on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates and their valleys yielded their crops of wheat. Human skeletal remains were not found in the earliest levels but remains found at nearby Al'Ubaid and belonging to this age show that the Sumerians possessed the Caucasian features and not the Mongolian, with which people they were supposed to be allied.

When did city-life, and village life which obviously must have preceded it, begin and how far back must we go in search of the beginnings of agricultural life? That question has not yet been answered, but the expanse of years back beyond the above estimates of city civilization seems not very great if anthropologists are correct in estimating the disappearance of paleolithic man in these regions to be at least 10,000 B.C.

Let us now look at the evidence of paleolithic man in Palestine. Toward the end of the last century Father Zumoffen in neighboring Beirut pioneered in the work of collecting flint implements which were obviously the work of paleolithic man. Since then, the collections of the lithic industry of paleolithic man in Palestine have accumulated and monasteries and museums there have their representative collections. Some of the oldest specimens belonged to the same period as those found in Le Moustier in France, which were associated with Neanderthal man.

The Neanderthal race is regarded by all physical anthropologists as being quite primitive. Morphologically, it differs considerably from existing races and these differences extend to many parts of the skeletal framework and as regards the skull are very striking. The skull, though large, has a low vault; the forehead is receding; the eye-brow or supraorbital ridges are large and in varying degree in different specimens join one another above the root of the nose and in extreme cases form a torus. The skeletal bones are massive and the stature short. All specimens however do not show these characters to the same degree. There is considerable variation.

The more common opinion is that the Neanderthal race became extinct at the end of the Würm glaciation or at the early phase of the mid-Pleistocene. A few, the most prominent of whom is Hrdlička, do not share that opinion. Hrdlička in his Huxley lecture of 1927 showed that isolated Neanderthal characters, such as the massive supraorbital ridges, occur in individuals of existing races. He believes that the Neanderthal race did not become extinct but mixed with higher types or continued to develop toward the present type. Recent evidence, which will be discussed later, supports his view. The time of the disappearance or at least the decline of the Neanderthal race is estimated by Sir Arthur Keith to be about 20,000 years ago, but others double this estimate.

The new races of mankind which became dominant after the Mousterian period are so far advanced from the standpoint of bodily structure that they have been termed neanthropic or modern in type as contrasted with the Neanderthal race, which has been termed paleanthropic. The Cro-Magnon race, though quite old, is of the modern or neanthropic type, and possessed a brain capacity probably above that of the average of living races. It is probable, however, that future investigations will show every gradation between what are now regarded as extreme types.

In order to fix the appearance of paleolithic man in Palestine in the relative time-scale, it is necessary to recall the names of the cultural periods with which the various types of humanity are associated. The cultural periods unearthed in various continents are universally referred to those of France as a standard, for in that country the cultural sequence was first thoroughly worked out and the layers exposed in various caves were correlated with one another. Thus the lower paleolithic of the pleistocene or glacial age is divided, beginning with the oldest, into the Acheulean, Levalloisian, and Mousterian, omitting here the very early cultural periods with which no human skeletal remains have been definitely associated. The climate, judging from the fossil animals found with the stone implements, was at first warm in the interglacial phase corresponding to the Acheulean, but at the end of the Mousterian period had become cold and moist. With these cultural periods Neanderthal man is associated.

The upper paleolithic includes the Aurignacean, the Salutrean, and the Magdalenian. It is sometimes referred to as the Reindeer Age in Europe. The climate was for the most part cold and dry. With these cultural periods the Cro-Magnon race is associated.

It is not understood, of course, that the above mentioned periods were contemporaneous in different continents. The probability is that they were not, and corresponding industries naturally varied somewhat from the type. But within large geographical areas there is evidence that the cultural levels corresponded also in time, and there exists a remarkable similarity in the workmanship of the flint implements. These implements were left by paleolithic man of the different periods not only in caves but in rock-shelters and open sites.

A transition period, the Azilian, led to the Mesolithic which was followed by the Neolithic or New Stone Age with a climate about the same as that of today. Following the Neolithic came the Age of Metals.

Although, as we have seen, paleolithic man was long suspected of having dwelt in Palestine, it is only recently that his fossil skeletal remains were brought to light and that a systematic investigation began of the strata containing his handiwork.

In 1925 M. F. Turville-Petre of the British School of Archeology in Jerusalem, investigated caves in the hills of northern Galilee near the Wady-el-Amud which flows into the Sea of Galilee. Flint implements were found of the Mousterian type and also charcoal, showing that the dwellers had known the use of fire. In the same stratum were found mineralized bones of animals of a kind indicating a tropical climate. Mr. Turville-Petre found likewise in this undisturbed stratum the front parts (frontal, malar, and sphenoid bones) of a human skull. Although the discovered parts of the skull are fragmentary, enough were found to show that it was allied to the Neanderthal type but apparently a more advanced variant of that type and perhaps representing a sub-race of the Neanderthal.

In 1928 Miss Dorothy Garrod of the British School of Archeology in Jerusalem, investigated the Shukbah cave in the Wady-en-Natuf about half way between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean Sea. She found evidence that the cave was occupied at a very early period by the Neanderthal race of people possessing the very old Mousterian culture. Among the human bone fragments found were some that were densely mineralized and that showed features of the Neanderthal race. The other bone fragments were less mineralized and were of the modern or neanthropic type.

The later cave men of Shukbah had a culture more allied to the so-called "Capsian" of Northern Africa which is believed to be contemporaneous with the Aurignacian of France. These late cave dwellers have been called Natufians from the name of the valley in which the cave is situated. They were hunters and judging from the contents of the stratum in which their remains were found, they knew nothing of agriculture or the making of pottery. Physically they were similar to the predynastic Egyptians.

Important as the Shukbah discovery is, I have discussed it very briefly in view of the results of more recent explorations on a much more extensive scale which were undertaken at Mount Carmel.

In 1929 the British School of Archeology in Jerusalem and the American School of Pre-historic Research jointly began excavations at Wady-el-Mughara or "Valley of the Caves" at Mount

Carmel under the direction of Miss Garrod assisted by T. E. McCown, Fellow of the American School of Pre-historic Research. A very detailed account of the results of these explorations is given in two 4to volumes issued by the Oxford Press.[1]

Garrod gives a description of the caves and their archeology, while Bate deals with the rich fauna and draws conclusions regarding the climatic conditions in the various periods. No evidence was found of any cold climatic phase; the strata were laid down during interglacial times.

A complete Stone Age sequence was established from a study of the Wad, Tabūn, and Skhūl caves, beginning with a period even earlier than the Acheulean, namely the Tayacean culture period, and extending through the Levalloiso-Mousterian to the Mesolithic preceding the Bronze period.

One layer (F) of Tabūn provided a fauna almost if not entirely extinct. A superimposed layer (B) showed a sharp break in the fauna when primitive types disappeared. And the Tabūn men occupied the cave before the great faunistic change which is recorded in its strata.

McCown and Sir Arthur Keith report on their study of the skeletal remains found associated with the Levalloiso-Mousterian period. The results of these studies are of great interest and importance to the prehistorian and anthropologist.

Human skeletal remains, numerous and well preserved, were found in all the above mentioned caves. Children and adults, males and females are represented. Some of the remains were found in the late paleolithic strata of the Wad cave. These were of Natufians. Associated with them there was found a late type of industry called the microlithic. Other remains, especially those of Tabūn and Skhūl, were of the Levalloiso-Mousterian culture period, which geologically was contemporary with the mid-Pleistocene. It is important to note that the burials showed deliberate interment. The limbs were flexed as was found to be the case in burials of similar periods in Europe, e.g., La Chapelle-aux-Saints.

The authors remark upon the great anatomical variability found in the skeletal remains. The Tabūn man shows many features that link it to the Neanderthal type, while the Skhūl individuals approach the neanthropic form such as is represented by the Cro-Magnon. All possess certain characters in common. The Mount Carmel people, the authors observe, represent a series which can be ranged between the Neanderthal form and the Cro-Magnon.

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[1] The Stone Age of Mount Carmel. Vol. I. by Garrod (D.A.E.) and D.M.A. Bate. 1937 Oxford Univ. Press. Vol. ii. by McCown (Th.D.) and Sir Arthur Keith. 1939, Oxford Univ. Press.

The squat massive Neanderthal type was not found at Mount Carmel. The lower limbs, especially of the Skhūl type, are long and straight. The Skhūl men were tall, ranging in the individual specimens from 5 ft. 6.7 in., to 5 ft. 10.3 in. None were short of medium height. They possessed, however, more rugged faces than the Cro-Magnon. Their supraorbital ridges were more pronounced, the jaws larger and the nose wider. But from their exhaustive study of the skeletal remains the authors conclude that the neanthropic features dominate the Neanderthaloid.

Of the twenty-five characters found to be diagnostic for Neanderthal man according to Marcelin Boule, only three were found in the Mount Carmel people. In eight physical characters they agree with the Cro-Magnon type. In twelve characters they are intermediate. Three characters are common to all three peoples, namely, dolichocephaly, a large ascending ramus of the jaw, and moderate to large cranial capacity.

Notwithstanding this analysis the authors feel justified in revising the classification of fossil man and place the Mount Carmel people in the paleanthropic group beginning with *Palaeoanthropus heidelbergensis* through *P. neanderthalensis* to *Palaeoanthropus palestinensis*. The term *Palaeoanthropus* perhaps serves to emphasize the great antiquity of these Palestine people. Classification, however, is based on morphological characters and the authors must have given special weight to some particular paleanthropic characters, though this is not clear.

The above classification implies specific differences, for elsewhere the authors regard Neanderthal man as a distinct species and *P. palestinensis* implies an equivalent status in the classification. But as already noted, the authors state that the Mount Carmel people were more neanthropic than paleanthropic in their morphological features. The application of the generic term *Palaeoanthropus* does not therefore appear to be justified. Moreover there is not only a great variability within the Neanderthal group as found in different parts of Europe, but there are many structural features linking Neanderthal man with the neanthropic type such as the Cro-Magnon. Add to this the fact that isolated Neanderthal features may occur in living races, the conclusion seems justified that the type of humanity named in the above classification represent, not extinct species, but fossil races.

On the evidence available there appears to have been a continuity of development toward the modern type. In that development an important phase seems to be represented by the paleolithic people of Palestine.

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MISSAL EPISTLES FROM ROMANS

IX

The following passage is read as the lesson in the mass for the feasts of St. Andrew Apostle (November 30), St. Francis Xavier (December 3) and St. Francis Solanus (July 24):

10:10 *With the heart a man believes unto justice, and with*
the mouth profession of faith is made unto salvation.
11 *For the Scripture says, "Whoever believes in him shall*
12 *not be disappointed." For there is no distinction be-*
tween Jew and Greek, for there is the same Lord of all,
13 *rich towards all who call upon him. "For whoever*
calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved."
14 *How then are they to call upon him in whom they*
have not believed? But how are they to believe him
whom they have not heard? And how are they to hear,
15 *if no one preaches? And how are men to preach unless*
they be sent? As it is written,
"How beautiful are the feet of those who preach
the gospel of peace;
Of those who bring tidings of good things!"
16 *But all did not obey the gospel. For Isaias says,*
"Lord, who has believed our report?"
17 *Faith then depends on hearing, and hearing on the*
18 *word of Christ. But I say: Have they not heard? Yes,*
indeed,
"Their voice has gone forth into all the earth,
and their words unto the ends of the world."

St. Paul, after completing his discussion of justification and the life of grace with all the wonderful transformations it affects in the soul of the individual and all the wealth of promise it contains for an unending life of glory in the world to come, turns his attention to the Jews, who, to the great sorrow of the Apostle, their kinsman, have failed to avail themselves of the riches of grace which Jesus Christ holds out to them. In assigning the reasons for this sad situation St. Paul first considers the matter from the angle of God's free choice. *He has mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardens* (Rom. 9:18). It is not that the divine action is arbitrary, for there is a corresponding guilt in the neglect of grace on the part of those who are hardened. Thus, in the second place, St. Paul considers the cause on the part of the Jews of their failure to accept and avail themselves of the blessings of Christianity. This cause is their refusal to believe. They indeed sought justice, but a justice according to their own ideas rather than according to the divine plan.

God's system for making the souls of men holy and just in His sight is through faith in the world's Redeemer. How easy and available to all men this simple way of salvation is St. Paul sets forth in a series of oratorical questions which amount to the following: This justification is not something for which man has to seek far and wide to find. It is not necessary to journey to heaven or descend to hell to discover the object of this justifying faith. Knowledge of the blessed Christ is brought to everyone by the preaching of the Apostles, and it only remains for the recipients of this message, whose divine origin is abundantly accredited by miracles and the Scriptures, to accept it and to confess orally the divinity of Jesus Christ and believe sincerely in His resurrection. Such is the sure path to eternal salvation. At this point our epistle begins:

With the heart a man believes unto justice, and with the mouth profession of faith is made unto salvation.

The heart, according to St. Paul's usage, which is not different from that of his contemporaries among the Jews, is the seat and source of man's emotional and intellectual life. When the term is used in connection with faith it is synonymous with the intellect or mind. That is quite evident in this passage for the Apostle refers explicitly in the context to belief in certain propositions, whose truth is, obviously, the object of intellectual perception. When used in connection with external profession the term 'heart' lays stress on the internal assent as distinguished from the outward manifestation of that inward conviction. The sincere, internal assent to the divinity of Jesus Christ and to the basic proof thereof, His corporeal resurrection, sets the believer on the way, leads him to justification. This act of faith is its preliminary, indispensable condition. When this condition is fulfilled, God introduces sanctifying grace into the soul, or as St. Paul calls it, *justification.*

Following upon this internal assent to the truth of faith, there is external profession of it in the reception of baptism. This profession through the medium of baptism puts man on the road to salvation. It is, of course, an assent and profession which are wholehearted and utterly sincere, resting on the conviction of truth perceived. And just as the truth is unalterable and unchanging, so too should be the inner conviction, and consequently the profession should endure throughout life. It is not actually being expressed orally at all times, but it endures in effect, and the believer ever holds himself in readiness to renew his baptismal profession when the occasion may demand, while at the same time constantly giving outward expression to it in his daily conduct.

The sincere profession of faith naturally involves leading the Christian life. Origen says:

> To some it will seem from this that, even though the privilege of good works be lacking to an individual, that, even though he strive not for virtue, by the mere fact of believing he will not perish but will have salvation, although he may not have the glory of beatitude. He who truly and not falsely confesses the Lord Jesus Christ orally and believes in his heart, also equally believes himself subject to the domination of the Wisdom, the Justice, the Truth and of all that Jesus Christ is. Mammon is no longer his lord, nor avarice, nor injustice, nor incontinence, nor lying. Once he professes Jesus his Lord, he professes to serve none of these other masters.

For the Scripture says, "Whoever believes in him shall not be disappointed." St. Paul, a few verses above (9:33) has quoted the passage more fully. Isaias, from whom the words are taken (28:16) speaks of the Messias as *a stumbling-stone and rock of scandal,* adding *whoever believes in him shall not be disappointed.* The Messias then is a rock of scandal only to those who refuse to believe in Him. Isaias lays down the universal condition of salvation for all adults (St. Paul does not consider here or elsewhere in his epistles the case of those who have not attained the use of reason) whether they be Jews or Gentiles. The reason why the same condition holds for all is:

For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek.

This is a point that St. Paul repeatedly stresses (Rom. 2:11; 3:23; 3:29-30; Gal. 3:28). He had to do so, because the Jews found it difficult to believe that with their privileged position as God's chosen people they were on the same plane as the Gentiles, whom they held in considerable contempt, in the matter of salvation. They found it hard to believe that all, Jews and Gentiles alike, had sinned and therefore were all in equally desperate need of the grace of God (cf. Rom. 3:21-23). St. Paul, therefore, often emphasized this point of capital importance which had been first promulgated in the Church by St. Peter as the result of a direct revelation from heaven (cf. Acts 10:34-38).

The reason why there is no distinction is immediately added by St. Paul:

> *For there is the same Lord of all, rich towards all who call upon him.*

Jesus Christ is the Lord of all, Jews and Gentiles alike. He uses the same methods in bringing both the one and the other to salvation. This doctrine, also, had been preached by St. Peter on the occasion of the reception of the first Gentile convert, Cornelius, into the Church (Acts 10:36). Jesus Christ has unfathomable treasures (cf. Eph. 3:8) of heavenly grace to bestow upon all who invoke Him. Again St. Paul establishes his point by citing the Scriptures. The prophet Joel had said in describing the terrors of the last day, the day of the Lord, that

> *Whoever calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.*

What the Old Testament prophet had said of the God of the Hebrews St. Paul applies to Jesus Christ. And quite properly so, for the Apostle just a few verses above (9:5) has clearly stated his belief in the divinity of Jesus *who is over all things, God blessed forever.*

Our Lord Himself has said: *Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord!' shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my father in heaven shall enter the kingdom of heaven* (Mt. 7:21). There is no contradiction between our Saviour's dictum and that of the prophet. The invocation which fails to guarantee one's entrance into heaven is the vain, hypocritical and insincere invocation of the Lord's name without the recognition of His supremacy and the indispensable necessity of bowing in submission to His will. The invocation which St. Paul and Joel had in mind is the sincere calling on the Lord, a plea accompanied by the practical recognition that He is the Lord of all, of our every act and thought, and that as such He rightfully claims our complete submission.

In the following verses St. Paul shows that the Jews have no excuse for their failure to accept in full faith the Lord Jesus Christ. The Apostle lists the various steps that lead to the invocation of the Lord's name: faith, hearing, preaching and authorization to preach, and shows that all these prerequisites for leading the Jews to invoke the Lord Jesus Christ have been fulfilled.

How then are they to call upon him in whom they have not believed? But how are they to believe him whom they have not heard? And how are they to hear, if no one preaches? And how are men to preach unless they be sent?

The various steps that lead to faith and to the invocation of the Saviour are so clearly indicated as to need no comment. Only this should be pointed out: St. Paul speaks of hearing *Him,* not *about Him.* In other words, the object of our faith is not the human preacher, even though he have the highest authorization; it is Christ the Lord, eternal Truth and Wisdom incarnate. When we hear the message delivered by His accredited representatives, it is Jesus Christ whom we hear, in accordance with His own words: *He who hears you hears me* (Lk. 10:16). To the Apostles He gave the commission: *All power in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world* (Mt. 28:18-20). But since the Apostles were not to live forever, and therefore could not personally carry out their mission of speaking as Christ's representatives to all nations unto the consummation of the world, their commission and their authorization pass on to their successors, the Bishops. Through these Bishops and through the priests who disseminate Christ's message in obedience to their Bishops and in communion with the Holy See, Christ still speaks to the whole world, and shall continue to do so unto the end of time.

As it is written,
"How beautiful are the feet of those who preach
the gospel of peace;
Of those who bring glad tidings of good things!"

St. Paul sees the type of the Gospel messengers in the Old Testament heralds who proclaimed the glad new of deliverance from the Babylonian captivity. Our Lord has effected deliverance from a far worse captivity and made possible the return of all mankind to the promised land of heaven. And these glad tidings are proclaimed by the heralds of the Gospel from the Apostles' days down through the centuries unto the end of time. By the figure of metonymy the prophet Isaias (52:7) speaks of the messengers' beautiful feet, beautiful because they are the instruments which carry forward the bearers of the glad message.

> *But all did not believe the gospel. For Isaias says,*
> *"Lord, who has believed our report?"*

If the message had been universally heralded by easily recognizable and accredited messengers, everyone should have accepted it. But as a matter of fact the majority of the Jews when St. Paul wrote to the Romans had refused to accept the message. St. Paul answers the objection by an appeal to prophecy. This lack of belief had been foretold by the prophet Isaias (53:1), who spoke of the incredulity of the Jews towards the suffering servant of Yahweh, none other than the crucified Saviour. He was *to the Gentiles foolishness, to the Jews a stumbling-block* (1 Cor. 1:23).

Report may mean either the message revealed by God to the prophet or the preaching of that message to mankind. The one of course entails the other, for a divine revelation is imparted to an individual only that he may pass it on by way of preaching to the rest of mankind. This latter sense seems to fit the context better.

St. Paul sums up his thought in the words:

Faith then depends on hearing, and hearing on the word of Christ.

What is the meaning of the expression *word of Christ?* Many eminent commentators, such as Cornely, understand it of the mandate to preach given by Christ to the Apostles and their successors, and this interpretation seems preferable in our opinion to the other, which is also espoused by eminent commentators, such as Lagrange, according to whom the *word of Christ* means the doctrine revealed by Christ.

Then the Apostle suggests a possible excuse for the Jews' unbelief: it may be that they have not heard the Christian message. St. Paul emphatically rejects the plea, pointing to the widespread diffusion of the Gospel by the Christian missionaries of his day. He finds an apt, although somewhat hyperbolical, expression of this far flung missionary activity in the words of the Psalmist, used in an accommodated sense:

> *But I say: Have they not heard? Yes, indeed,*
> *"Their voice has gone forth into all the earth,*
> *and their words unto the ends of the world."*

These words are taken from Psalm 18 which describes how nature incessantly sings the glory and power and beauty of the Creator in a hymn of praise that fills the world from end to end, so that no one can fail to hear it. So similarly the preaching of the Apostles has been so widespread as to reach every corner of the world and attract the attention of all mankind.

These concluding words of the missal selection make the passage particularly apt for the feast of three great missionaries: the Apostle Andrew, the great modern missionary who so marvellously propagated the faith by preaching in remote India, China and Japan, Francis Xavier, and finally St. Francis Solanus, who carried the gospel message to the natives in the more remote districts of South America.

X

The following passage is the epistle for Trinity Sunday:

11:33 *Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his*
34 *judgments and how unsearchable are his ways! For*
"Who has known the mind of the Lord,
35 *or who has been his counsellor?*
Or who has first given to him,
that recompense should be made him?"
36 *For from him and through him and unto him are all things.*
To him be glory forever, amen.

The foregoing hymn of praise concludes St. Paul's whole treatment of the Gospel as the power of God operative in the world for the salvation of all mankind. It extols the unsearchable and incomprehensible wisdom of God.

The *depth* means the immensity, the infinite, unfathomable profundity of the divine attributes here mentioned. *Riches* designates the divine treasures of goodness and grace. *Wisdom* designates "the infinite prudence of God, by which, disposing and directing all things most opportunely and aptly to the attainment of the proposed ends, He selects for the salvation of our race that way which most clearly demonstrates His universal justice and perfection" (Cornely). *Knowledge* signifies "the most perfect knowledge of absolutely all things, especially of all the ways which lead to the attainment of any intended end" (Cornely). *Judgments* include not only the merciful decrees by which God determines to lavish His grace upon mankind and save them, but also the judgments of condemnation and punishment which men merit by their resistance to God. These are all equally unfathomable. God's *ways* are His manner of dealing with men, of bestowing and withholding His grace.

The foregoing ideas are repeated and reinforced with words taken from Isaias, 40:13:

"Who has known the mind of the Lord,
or who has been his counsellor?"

Then follows the quotation from Job, 41:3:

Or who has first given to him,
that recompense should be made him?

The idea is that God is infinitely rich and self-sufficing, and no man can give Him anything that He does not already possess; no man can render God a service and demand reward. Being infinitely rich, God is always the first to give.

The reason for man's inability to add anything to God's infinity is that

From him and through him and unto him are all things. All things are derived from God, their creator; all things continue in existence in virtue of the divine conservation; all things are *through Him,* the Conserver; and finally all things are destined unto Him as their last end. God is the Creator, the Conserver and the Goal of all things in that all things were created for the sake of His glory.

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OBSCURITIES IN THE LATIN PSALTER

XVIII

115. Psalm 109:3. (Sunday, at Vespers.)

Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae in splendoribus sanctorum: ex utero ante luciferum genui te.

A brief but majestic hymn, acknowledged by Judaism as messianic, and ascribed by Christ Himself to David's authorship, presents in this verse one of the most uncertain passages in the whole of the Psalter. No two ancient versions are in complete agreement, except where the Vulgate simply translates the Septuagint. Some variations are traceable to ambiguous Hebrew forms, others to divergent MSS of MT itself, and one to the latter's possession of a phrase of two words which is absent from LXX-V.

Unvocalized the original of *tecum* may be either "with thee" or "thy people." The Hebrew word to which *principium* answers is varied in capacity. Its verbal root means "incite" in the direct stem, while the reflexive makes it "volunteer" or "offer freely." Hence two derivatives: a substantive meaning either "willingness" or "a freewill offering," and an adjective meaning either "generous" in disposition or "noble" in rank. LXX seems to suppose the substantive, with the meaning "nobility" or "princeliness," though ἀρχή should have been rendered *principatus* rather than *principium* in this context. MT inclines to the substantive in its normal meaning of "willingness" or "generosity"; and it lacks one letter rarely omitted by "noble."

The Hebrew of *virtus* is certain in itself, but of many applications: "strength" or "force" as a quality in almost any order, or in particular "a force" as a military unit. The result is either "day of thy power" or "day of thy muster." The original of *splendoribus* is a construct plural, in which the Hebrew MSS vary. Our standard editions make it "adornments" of the person, preferably clothing or equipment of fine quality; while other MSS read "mountains" or "hills." In either case the word governs a following genitive, whence *sanctorum,* though this in MT is the singular form for "holiness," amounting to the qualifying adjective "holy."

Ex utero seems to be fairly certain. All agree also in *luciferum;* but *ante* depends on treating as a preposition an initial letter which would be awkward in the meaning "before." Taken as part of the substantive, it gives us a form for "dawn" which is possible, but unknown elsewhere. The initial, being identical with the last letter of the preceding word ("womb"), is probably a case of dittography, and precedes the normal word for "dawn." The latter is a genitive governed by *ex utero,* the phrase "from the womb of dawn" probably meaning from its very first appearance.

Genui te, the most significant affirmation in the LXX-V interpretation, is the hardest of all to decide, since the Hebrew MSS vary between "I have begotten thee" (as readable without the vowel-points) and a substantive meaning "thy youth," which may denote either the Messiah's own time of life or, more likely, a class among His people.

To complicate matters otherwise, MT has between *luciferum* and *genui te* two short words omitted by LXX-V: "to thee" or "for thee" (i.e. "thine"), and the substantive "dew," either in the absolute state or, as construct, governing a following genitive.

In such a succession of alternatives it seems clear that some general principle must guide particular choice. A self-consistent sense can only be secured by adherence to a unified theme determined by the context of the verse. Commentators commonly recognize this, and are the more disposed to mutual tolerance. On the question of the tendency of the context there are two main views; and they divide the ancient versions themselves into two groups or families.

LXX-V form one of these. The first runs: "With thee shall be princeliness in the day of thy power, in the splendors of thy holy ones: from the womb before the morning star I have begotten thee." The Vulgate follows exactly. Here the Messiah's unique pre-eminence, the basic theme of the whole hymn, seems to be grounded on a union with the Deity which is due to the former's personal origin.

MT appeals to a different reason: "Thy people will be willing(ness) in the day of thy force, in holy array [or, on the holy hills], from the womb of dawn: thine is the dew of thy youth." Jerome's version follows closely: "Populi tui spontanei erunt in die fortitudinis tuae: in montibus [*var.* splendoribus] sanctis. Quasi de vulva orietur tibi ros adolescentiae tuae." In these two sources the Messiah's pre-eminence rests on other grounds; in the coming subjugation of His foes, He will be honored in the voluntary offering of the flower of His people.

The Syriac seems to agree until near the end: "Thy people will be ennobled in the day of power, in the adornments of holiness from the womb: from the beginning thine is childhood [or from the beginning is thy childhood?]; I have begotten thee." The last member reflects a Hebrew original by attesting the two words absent from LXX. "Thine" (for or belonging to thee) is the first. The other, "childhood," is a misreading of "dew," owing to the fact that the latter's radicals carry a different idea in Christian Syriac than in the Hebrew and the older Aramaic of the West. We should err in similar fashion if, for example, we supposed the German *bekommen* to mean "become" instead of expressing the earlier English "come by" (obtain).

Our choice of a directive theme thus lies between two titles to the Messiah's exalted state: that of divine sonship (as in Psalm 2), and that of a select body of followers worthy of a prince. Which of these themes governed the poet's thought?

Bird prefers the general standard of LXX without particularly stressing the value of context. His review of the textual problems is thorough, as usual; but unless I misconstrue the Syriac, I cannot see with him that it "agrees mainly with LXX and Vulg." As to his further opinion that it is "evident from Ps. 2:7" that *genui te* is original, such a reason, of course, determines nothing here.

Boylan, also, (while the opinion does not much modify the version of his text) is inclined to the theme of divine sonship; that of preparation for conquest seems to him incongruous here. In keeping with this he would even alter "day of thy power" to "day of thy birth" by invoking an etymology which is absolutely possible, but which would terminate here in a Hebrew derivative otherwise unknown in any such meaning. Both he and Bird concede it strange that a passage so strongly attestant of divine sonship should be nowhere quoted in the New Testament.

We should say that the theme of conquest is far from incongruous in verse 3. In v. 1 there are enemies yet to be subdued; in v. 2 the Messiah is commissioned to "rule in the midst" of them, with the assurance of Yahweh's initiative in the extension of His sway. What could follow more naturally than His preparation for a victorious campaign and His assurance of all that a commander might desire? After v. 4 has emphasized Yahweh's sanction of the Messiah's dominion on personal and in alienable grounds, vv. 5, 6 and 7 are all devoted to the thought of war. The dominant theme of the psalm is clearly that of sovereignty secured by conquest.

As to particulars, in this view of verse 3 the phrase "in holy array" might qualify the equipment of the force as worthy of a sacred cause; while "on the holy hills" would be even more characteristic, should that reading be preferred. The recruits will muster "from the womb of the dawn," as punctual as they are generous. And since "dew" is the refreshment which dawn brings to an arid region, the flower of the younger generation appears at dawn as "the dew of the youth" of the Leader's subjects.

Zorell, who fully reviews the difficulties involved, prefers the solution just given. We also, for the reasons alleged, would read, with MT and Jerome,

Thy people will volunteer in the day of thy force,
in holy array, from the womb of the dawn;
thine shall be the dew of thy youth.

116. Psalm 109:7. (Sunday, at Vespers.)

De torrente in via *bibet:* propterea *exaltabit* caput.

This language is strange only in its grammatical connection. The third personal subject in the preceding verses has been Yahweh, but the present words can hardly be affirmed of Him, even by way of anthropopathy. Hitherto all that concerns the Messiah has been addressed to Him directly; is He now introduced in the third person without announcement or express transition? Apparently so, and not without poetic balance. The opening words, "Address of Yahweh to my Lord," introduce the Psalm as quoting a group of divine decrees. It is not incongruous that the closing verse should assume the same grammatical position and speak of the Messiah rather than to Him. Strophic symmetry is thus aided; and the identify of the subject of the two verbs would not be easily mistaken, in view of what is affirmed. The poet assumes the right to sum up the victorious issue of all that Yahweh has committed to the Messiah:

From ravines on the march he will drink;
therefore shall he lift up his head.

117. Psalm 110:2b. (Sunday, at Vespers.)

Magna opera Domini: *exquisita in omnes voluntates ejus.*

Here, as often in Hebrew, a passive participle is followed by "to" or "for," but equivalent in our idiom to "by" rather than to that "to" which governs a term of motion or process. The latter reads as if "the works of the Lord" were "studied down to all his purposes." But this was prejudiced by *voluntates,* which has taken the wrong direction between a substantive, "pleasures," and a verbal adjective, "pleased with." In this V follows LXX, which attests a Hebrew original identical with MT but misunderstood. Jerome reads the same text with a truer sense of the Hebrew: *exquirenda cunctis volentibus eum.* Only, he makes the students of the Lord's works "delight in him" rather than "in them" (MT). To write *exquirenda* for *exquisita* was matter of choice, since the passive participle in Hebrew is regularly either perfect or gerundive in point of time-relation. The sense is

Great are the doings of Yahweh,
studied by all who delight in them.

118. Psalm 113 (ii):14a. (Sunday, at Vespers.)

Adjiciat Dominus super vos: super vos, et super filios vestros

Adjiciat renders a Hebrew verb meaning "add" or "increase," which here, in the causative form, is intransitive, while the Latin leaves us expecting some direct object or complement. With this verb in Hebrew, the original of *super* means "upon" as implying "in addition to," thus somewhat strengthening the verb's influence on an indirect object. The blessing invoked is that of increase in numbers:

May Yahweh give increase to you,
to you and your children.

119. Psalm 117:27b. (Sunday, at Vespers.)

Constituite diem sollemnem in condensis, usque ad cornu altaris.

Cornu, should be plural, as it is in LXX; but a change to "corners" or "horns" of the altar does little to relieve the difficulties of the preceding clause. Its surest component is *diem sollemnem,* which renders a single Hebrew word meaning "festival" and usually denoting one of the three great feasts of annual pilgrimage.

The other words are elusive in their present context. *Constituite* is the imperative plural of a verb meaning "bind" or "tie," and thence "imprison." Of itself it does not seem to connote "appoint, arrange, compose" anywhere in biblical Hebrew. Boylan thinks the present context may lend it the force of "marshal" or "set in order." Bird's observation that it may mean "begin" is true only of the peculiar idiom "join battle," which connotes the fusion of two opposing groups, and always expresses the appropriate object. Such a sense can hardly be invoked here.

In may be either local or instrumental ("with"). *Condensis* is ambiguous. Derived from a verb meaning "twist" or "twine," the Hebrew substantive means "cords" of human making or interlaced "masses of foliage" (hence often "thickets" naturally dense). Starting with "cords," one would be tempted to interpret, "Bind the festal (victim) with cords to the horns of the altar," to receive the stroke of the knife. Only a preposition prevents this, but a decisive one: after the verb in question, "up to" or "as far as" never governs the object to which anything is "bound with cords." *Usque ad,* an exact rendition, excludes the final phrase from immediate construction with such a verb as "bind." Moreover, as regards "cords," it is noticeable that the ancient versions generally understood the original to mean foliage in some form or disposition. Jerome renders, *Frequentate [var. obligate] sollemnitatem in frondosis, usque ad cornua* altaris. LXX's ἐν τοῖς πυκάζουσιν may be translated "with the coverings" or "the shady branches" (the article, by the way, is also in MT).

Boylan pertinently suggests a reference to the "Feast of Tabernacles" (Sukkoth), in which boughs of foliage were so conspicuous. Originally shelters built of them were to house the worshippers through the whole octave of the feast. This and other uses of the *frondosa* seem to be prescribed in Lev. 23:39-43. The time came when it was a task for urban populations to observe this feast in the old fashion. Yet, among the feasts of annual pilgrimage, it is emphasized alone in 1 Esd. 3:4; 2 Esd. 8:14-17; Os. 12:9; Zach. 14:16. It may well be "the festival" *par excellence* in this passage of the Psalms. Would that we knew how early the great illumination (symbolic of the pillar of fire in the desert) came into the observance of Sukkoth, for the sentence just preceding this (27a) is "Yahweh is God, and He gave us light." On this point, however, we are ignorant. As to the branches, they were at least bound together in their chief employment; and later, when the Israelites had long been town-dwellers, the "shady boughs" were attached to the roofs of the houses, so that the feast might be spent beneath them without one's altogether "camping out."

Bird's rendering, "Begin the feast with leafy branches," and Boylan's "Marshal the festive dance with leafy branches," do not seem quite satisfactory, though both are the fruit of careful study, and there is room for much difference of opinion. Zorell has *Ordinate pompam condenso agmine usque ad cornua arae;* but *ordinate,* like "marshal," seems to strain the force of "bind," and we doubt that *condenso* refers to the formation of a procession rather than to the quality of the foliage.

Schleusner seems to us on the right track when he renders LXX as *sistite vel figite festum obumbrantibus ramis usque ad cornua altaris,* and sees in this a "hypallage" for the more literal *figite in festo obumbrantes ramos usque ad cornua altaris.* A stereotyped case of such language may be seen in the phrase "to cut a treaty," meaning to solemnize a treaty by cutting apart sacrificial victims. "Bind a festivity with the leafy branches" would thus be "bind the leafy branches in festivity." If they were attached to the corners of the altar (of which one cannot be sure), and if, moreover, this was not strictly demanded, the *usque* would be explained as expressing superabundant zeal in the observance of the feast. Rosenmüller (who is also thinking of Sukkoth) explains this as calling for branches long enough to equal the height of the altar when "fixed" in an upright position, which would also justify *usque ad.* In the main this appeal to a figure similar to that in "cut a treaty" appears to solve the difficulty with substantial fidelity to the key words of the text. We would therefore suggest:

Yahweh is God, and He gave us light!
Keep festival by binding the leafy boughs
all the way to the horns of the altar.

(*To be continued*)

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THE OLD TESTAMENT REVISION PROJECT

Historical Sketch*

The plan to establish a Catholic Biblical Association was not yet fully launched, before the enthusiasm and foresight of its earliest protagonists had already singled out the revision of the Old Testament version used by English-speaking Catholics as a useful work suited to their zeal and industry. The gathering from which the Association itself, and the work of revising the New Testament translation, now happily concluded, both took their rise was held in the Sulpician Seminary, Washington, D. C., on January 18, 1936.[1] As early as April 19, 1936, the members of the Editorial Board for the Revision of the New Testament agreed to take steps toward planning for an Old Testament Revision as well. The preparatory work of securing the interest of possible collaborators and of drawing up a tentative formula of principles to be followed was entrusted to Rev. Edward A. Arbez, S.S., and Rev. Romain F. Butin, S.M. At the first general meeting of the Association, at St. Louis, October 9-10, 1937, three of the papers delivered were directed toward Old Testament questions. Frs. Butin, S.M., and McGarry, S.J., treated of revisions within the Hebrew and Septuagint traditions, respectively; while Fr. Arbez, S.S., the president of the Association and chairman of the Editorial Board for the New Testament Revision, treated formally of "Revision of the Douay-Rheims Old Testament: Some Suggestions."[2]

At the January 23, 1938, meeting of the New Testament Editorial Board, a committee of ten scholars was selected to draft formally the principles to be employed for the Old Testament undertaking, using Fr. Arbez' suggestions and the principles governing the New Testament work as a basis. A majority of the committee's members submitted written memoranda on the subject, which were classified and prepared for discussion by Rev. W. H. McClellan, S.J., as secretary. The committee met, jointly with the New Testament Editorial Board, on April 24, 1938, in

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* Prepared from the archives, on the basis of an outline presented at the 1942 General Meeting of the C.B.A. by Rt. Rev. W. L. Newton, S.S.D., Executive Secretary of the Revision.

[1] *Proceedings of the Catholic Biblical Association of America: First General Meeting* (St. Meinrad, Ind., 1938), pp. 133 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 127-32.

Washington. A number of the recommendations made by individual members of the committee were seen to hinge on the question of how far it would be necessary or advisable to adhere strictly to the Clementine text of the Vulgate. One opinion urged direct use of the original languages as the basis for the rendering. The rest showed considerable divergence as to the latitude which might be allowed in reading through the Vulgate, taken as the norm, to the underlying original text for the precise meaning of tenses, idioms, proper names, etc.; and as to the amount of variation from the standard text which it would be advisable to incorporate in footnotes. A tentative list of principles was formulated by the committee, with the understanding that it was to be distributed widely among competent Catholic Scripture scholars in this country and in other English speaking lands for examination and criticism. At the same time, it was determined to consult the Pontifical Biblical Commission in Rome about the principles, with particular regard to the relationship of the Revision to the official Vulgate text and to its originals. The task of securing direction from this source was committed to Fr. W. L. Newton, in view of his intention to visit Rome during the summer of that same year; a basic point in the inquiry being that it was the will of the members of the Episcopal Committee on the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine that the rendering, if undertaken, should proceed from the Vulgate, and not from the original languages directly.

At Rome, the then Secretary of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, Fr. J. B. Frey, C.S.Sp., would not submit the revision principles to official action by the Commission as a body, since the inquiry concerning them was not proposed in a formal petition on the part of the Hierarchy in the United States. He suggested, however, that the mind of the Commission could be ascertained quite adequately by separate interviews with the individual consultors then resident in Rome. In pursuit of this suggestion, Fr. Newton held discussions on the subject with Frs. Bea, Vaccari and Vosté, and with Msgr. Ruffini, as well as with Fr. Frey himself. Several would have preferred a version from the original languages. In a rendering from the Vulgate, all were in accord that the Latin must be rendered in the light of the underlying text which it represents. For the Latin text itself, Fr. Vaccari specifically suggested consultation of the *Codex Carafianus,* the work submitted by the commission for editing the

Vulgate under Pope Sixtus V. Other critical apparatus and procedures were indicated.

During the same summer, in the course of a visit to England, Fr. Newton secured a number of *viva voce* opinions on the undertaking and its principles from scholars in England and Ireland. Generous written comment was also furnished by British and Australian scripturists in response to a request by Fr. Pickar, O.S.A., the Secretary-Archivist. The active membership of the Catholic Biblical Association was furnished with copies of the principles in their tentative form, and urged to come prepared for discussion of them at the annual meeting in the Fall.

At Hartford, Conn., on October 2, 1938, at the concluding session of the second general meeting of the Association,[3] the principles were considered by the Editorial Board for the Revision of the New Testament (who were to continue in their capacity also for the Old Testament project); and by the general meeting. The main point at issue was whether the Clementine text of 1592-8 should be the unique source open to the revisers for Vulgate readings. In the light of Fr. Newton's report on his conversations in Rome, the meeting unanimously went on record as in favor of a critically tested Vulgate text. This decision was reflected also, and at once, in the prior work on the New Testament.[4] The Old Testament revision principles were so modified on this point that "any edition of the Vulgate may be used." The archivist was instructed to procure for the Association a photographic reproduction of the *Codex Carafianus;* the expenses involved were generously guaranteed by His Excellency, Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara, D.D.

Meanwhile, preliminary steps had been taken toward gathering a qualified group of revisers. Each active member of the Association was asked to designate which, if any, books of the Old Testament he would care to work on. In view of the replies received, a tentative list of revisers was drawn up at the end of the year 1938. On January 15, 1939, the New Testament Editorial Board again convened in Washington; the principles were once more passed in review, and received some slight modifications. The list of possible revisers was then very carefully canvassed; so far as possible, each book assigned for revision was accorded to a priest known to have previously done serious work on its text. The Board at this same meeting instructed its Secretary-Archivist to correspond with those selected, and within a very brief period satisfactory acceptances had been received for all the books. This made it possible to bring the organizing period for the work to a happy conclusion at the next meeting of the Editorial Board for the New Testament, in Easter Week of 1939. As chairman of the Episcopal Committee on the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, His Excellency, Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara formally appointed the revisers to their task. The Editorial Board, assuming its new function under the same authortiy, confirmed the principles in their current form, and authorized their appearance in print.[5]

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[3] *C.B.Q.*, 1 (January, 1939), 78.

[4] Cf. the Preface to the Confraternity Edition of the New Testament, p. vii.

With the revision thus actually begun, the next meeting of the Association (Cincinnati, October, 1939) saw the presentation to the revisers of photographic prints of the *Codex Carafianus* by Bishop O'Hara on behalf of the Episcopal Committee, patrons of the work. Subsequent meetings saw further discussion of the principles for revision, as illustrated below in the resulting commentary on their application. Since the beginning of the work, only three changes have been necessitated among the revisers, because of the withdrawal of those first selected. In view of the large bulk of editorial work necessary for the preparation of the Old Testament rendering, their Excellencies of the Episcopal Committee on the Confraternity augmented the membership of the Editorial Board in March, 1941.[6] The Scripture Faculty at the Catholic University of America were constituted joint editors for the text; while the editing of footnotes, headings, introductions, etc., remains the function of the Editors already designated for these tasks. A special editor for the orthography of proper names has since been added, bringing the current membership of the Board to sixteen.

Submission of manuscripts by the revisers and their study by the editors are both progressing steadily at present.[7] By the end of the 1942-3 scholastic year, the Minor Prophets should be ready for the press; the Psalms will follow as soon as possible thereafter, and subsequently the remaining books, in suitable groups, at short intervals.

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[5] *C.B.Q.*, 1 (July, 1939), 267 ff.

[6] *C.B.Q.*, 3 (April, 1941), 183.

[7] The following books have been completed by their revisers: Gen., Ex., Jos., I Kgs., Tob., Eccles., Cant., Wis., Ecclus., Ezech., Dan., 12 Minor Prophets, 1 Macc., 1 Par.

COMMENTARY ON THE PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE REVISION

Since the principles governing the Revision of the Old Testament were definitely approved by the Editorial Board in April, 1939, and released for publication in the Quarterly (Vol. I, pp. 267 ff.), both editors and revisers have had the advantage of much experience in their use. At three successive meetings of the Biblical Association (1940-42) some time has been devoted to these principles, with a view to uniformity in interpreting and applying them. The fruit of these several discussions, joined in by most of the revisers and editors, with consultive votes taken among the active membership of the Association, may be summarized, after the arrangement of the principles themselves, as follows:—

I. BASIC TEXT: a. Of editions of the Vulgate, Hetzenauer has been found most dependable for the text; Gramatica is valuable for cross-references. In addition to the Benedictine edition for the first eight books, and the Codex Carafianus for the whole Old Testament, when adequate manuscript evidence for Vulgate readings has been published for a portion of the Old Testament (Vercellone for Samuel and Kings, DeBruyne for Proverbs and Wisdom, etc.), it may and should be consulted by the reviser of that portion.

d. Metaphorical terms applied to God in the Hebrew text, such as "rock" or "shield," which have been paraphrased ("refuge," "protector") in the Vulgate after the example of the Septuagint, are to be kept as metaphors in the Revision.

e. The divine names, whether "Lord" or "God," should be determined by the original text (Hebrew or Greek) when we are sure the Vulgate translator had the same original. The Vulgate frequently employs "Dominus" in cases in which the Hebrew reads "Yahweh" or "Elohim." "Yahweh" should be represented in the translation by "LORD" in capitals. "Elohim" should be rendered as "God." Difficulties occurring in the case of composite names such as "Yahweh Adonai" will be dealt with by the editors.

f. The basis for each reviser's work as regards the spelling of proper names will be the form current in the Clementine Vulgate text. Unification of disparate forms will, when advisable, be brought about by a special editor for the proper names.

g. Where the Latin *clearly* presupposes the Hebrew consonantal text as we now have it, but misunderstands it, the proper translation can be inserted in the text. Where the vowels (only) supplied by St. Jerome for his rendering differ from those furnished by the Massoretes, the reviser will render the consonants attested by the Vulgate in accordance with the true meaning of the original. Speculation, however, whether on the reading presupposed by the Vulgate or on the sense of the original, is altogether excluded; nor do the principles admit of reconstructions ("corrections") of the original.

V. EXTERNAL FORM: d. In the text of poetic passages, the printing style adopted in the revised New Testament will be followed. The first member should begin with a capital letter; the second, and the third if there be one, should begin with a small letter and be indented. Stanzas may be set off in the usual way when they are as evident as in Amos chapter one.

VIII. PREPARATION OF MANUSCRIPT: a. In the typescript, both footnotes and cross-references may be submitted on pages separate from the text.

Correspondence on the subject of the Old Testament revision is to be directed to the Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Patrick W. Skehan, S.T.D., The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

PATRICK W. SKEHAN, S.T.D.

The Catholic University of America
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BIBLICAL NEWS

Heeding the request of the Government and following the example of numerous similar associations, the Biblical Association has decided not to hold its annual meeting this year. It had been scheduled for Ottawa, Canada, during the month of August. Instead there will be, it is hoped, a meeting of the Editorial Board of the Old Testament at a date and place to be announced later.

Biblical Sunday, February 21, 1943, was widely commemorated throughout the nation. Many members of the Hierarchy issued pastoral letters on the subject of promoting the reading of the New Testament by the laity, and some of them directed their priests to give an entire series of Lenten sermons on the Bible. As an aid to the faithful many diocesan newspapers are publishing week by week the list of daily Lenten readings. This list gives not only the book, chapter and verses but also the pages in the Confraternity Edition where the readings assigned to each day may be found. The list also includes the pages of the Commentary where the explanation of each passage may be found. There have been numerous requests from priests in various parts of the country for copies of the sermon outlines on the Bible. More than fifteen thousand copies of the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* have been distributed to the clergy, and it is expected that many more thousand copies will be sent out before the end of the year. Attractive posters were sent to parish churches, schools, colleges, and universities.

Further plans for the commemoration of the encyclical call for Radio addresses on the subject preferably during the month of November, since the encyclical was issued on November 18. Negotiations are under way with several chains but no decision has been reached at the present time. The Committee has, however, selected the speaker in the event that the Radio time is granted. The choice is excellent and will meet with widespread approval. It is Monsignor Newton of Cleveland.

As a help to schools and priests who may wish to discuss the encyclical in their clergy conferences, the Committee believes that a brief bibliography might be helpful. The three articles which appear in this issue of the Quarterly are to be issued in book form, and Father Cyril Gaul, O.S.B., has announced that he will publish a jubilee edition of *Rome and the Study of Scripture.* The fall 1943 issue of the ST. MEINRAD HISTORICAL ESSAYS will be a jubilee number, with articles of a historico-scriptural character.

The Committee for the commemoration appeals for suggestions and assistance from the members of the Association for the proper celebration of the encyclical's fiftieth anniversary. The chairman of the

Committee is the Reverend John J. Collins, S.J., Weston College, Weston, Mass.

Between its date of publication in September 1942 and December 31, 1942, approximately 12,000 copies of the Association's Commentary on the New Testament were sold. This has brought in a considerable sum to the Association's treasury in royalties. It is expected that as a result of a rather intensive sales campaign many more thousands of copies will be sold during the year 1943.

The Most Reverend Georges-Leon Pelletier, Ph.L., S.T.D., S.S.L., an active member of the Association, has been designated by our Holy Father, Pius XII, as second Auxiliary to His Eminence Cardinal Rodigue Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec. Bishop Pelletier, whose consecration took place in February, received his degree in Philosophy and Theology at the Laval University in Quebec, and the Licentiate of Sacred Scripture from the Biblical Institute in Rome, where His Excellency was a student from 1932 to 1935. Since that time he has taught Biblical Introduction and Biblical Greek at Laval University.

Monsignor Ronald A. Knox has completed his translation of the New Testament from the Vulgate after three years of work. The Sunday Epistles and Gospels have been appearing each week in the London Tablet, whose editor, together with Monsignor Knox, has graciously granted us permission to print a sample, which, we are sure, will be of great interest to our readers. The Monsignor writes: "A try-out edition of the whole N. T. is about to be printed, and should (I suppose) be ready about the end of the year. But it is being printed only for subscribers." The estimated price of this trial edition is less than ten shillings. The sample follows:

> Brethren, be temperate and wide awake, ready for your times of prayer. And above everything else, let your love for one another be unfailing; love draws its veil over a multitude of sins. Make one another free of what you have, without making any ado over it, each imparting to the rest the special gift which has been bestowed upon him: there is a variety in God's graces, and it is for you to distribute them evenly. One has the gift of utterance—he must think of himself as the mouth-piece of God; another performs acts of charity—he must remember that it is God who supplies him with the means to do it. So, in everything, God will receive due honor, through Jesus Christ; to him be glory and power for endless ages, Amen (1 Peter 4:7-11).

Inquiries have come to the Association concerning the New Testament in Spanish in an edition like that of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. It has recently been brought to our attention that an edition quite similar in typographical arrangement has been published by *Imprenta Y Libreria Gaudalupe,* Calle Mansilla 3865, Buenos Aires, Argentina. The translation was made by Dr. Felix Torres Amat and the footnotes were written by Msgr. D. Juan Straubinger. The price is $4.00 (Argentine), about $1.00 U.S.A.

The same publisher has recently published the entire Old Testament in a new Spanish translation, the work of Monsignor Straubinger. It is published in three volumes, the first containing the books from Genesis to 4 Kings; the second volume containing from 1 Paralipomenon to the Psalms inclusive, and the final volume containing the rest of the books. Its price is $5.00 (Argentine).

Dr. John E. Steinmueller's splendid volumes on General and Special Introduction are being translated into Spanish and will be published sometime during the current year in South America.

According to a recent letter from Father Cuthbert Lattey, S.J., Commander C. F. A. Schaeffer, the co-discoverer with M. Chenet of the now famous Ras Shamra tablets, is now in England, engaged in teaching and research at Oxford. Commander Schaeffer is an officer in the French Navy.

The Reverend Joseph Francis Crump, O.M.I., S.T.L., successfully defended his doctoral thesis at the Catholic University on February 12, 1943. The subject of the dissertation is *Pneuma in the Gospels.* Father Crump is now teaching Sacred Scripture at the Oblate Scholasticate in Washington, D. C., and is an active member of the Biblical Association.

Several films of a popular character dealing with the Bible are being prepared by the Catholic Film and Radio Guild of Los Angeles. The planning of the films, intended for class room and parish hall presentation and designed to run about forty minutes, is in charge of a committee composed of Monsignor Edward R. Kirk, the Rev. Cornelius Snyder, O.F.M., the Rev. Victor White, S.J., and the Rev. Fergus Lawless, O.F.M.Cap.

Through the kindness of the Reverend Francis L. Keenan, S.T.D., pastor of St. Michael's Church, Lowell, Massachusetts, and formerly of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Massachusetts, a valuable collection of slides is now available to members of the Association. The result of many years of careful selection and arrangement, this collection is noteworthy for its excellent quality as well as its size. The Association is deeply grateful to Father Keenan for his generous gift. Members of the Association who make use of this collection will find it of the greatest value in their work.

The general contents of the collection are as follows:

1. 450 slides on Palestine and Syria, giving completely and in picturesque detail all the main places of interest:
   - a) From Jaffa to Jerusalem. (11)
   - b) Jerusalem and environs. (125)
   - c) Bethlehem and environs. (23)
   - d) A tour of Judea. (48)
   - e) Samaria. (17)
   - f) Galilee. (42)
   - g) The Palestinian Coast. From Caesarea to Sidon. (19)
   - h) Syria. (63)
   - i) Asia Minor. (8)
   - j) Islands of the Eastern Mediterranean. (12)
   - k) Types, scenes and costumes. (61)
   - l) Transjordania. (16)
2. 61 slides, showing maps and plans of the Holy Lond.
3. 38 slides of Ancient Egypt.
4. Scenes from the Historical Books of the Old Testament. (The Pentateuch, and stories of David, Daniel, Esther, etc.)
5. Excavations in Jerusalem and Samaria.
6. Modern Rome and Italy.
7. Views of Paris, Germany, England, Ireland and Scotland.
8. Famous Paintings and Portraits.

The above list, while complete as to the contents of the collection, will be described more in detail when an inventory and arrangement of the collection for use of the members of the Association has been finished. Nearly all the slides in the collection are colored, with the exception of some of the excavation scenes. The majority of the slides are 3 1/4 by 4 inches in size.

Application for borrowing these slides should be made at least ten days in advance of the time when they are actually needed. Since they are almost all 3 1/4 by 4 inches in size, the projectors now available for the smaller slides cannot be used. Present priority regulations make it impossible for the Association to purchase a proper projector. Therefore it will be necessary to rent a Baloptican Projector from a local dealer. This should not be difficult, because this type is quite common. The slides, together with a table of contents, will be shipped express collect and insured, and should be returned promptly after use, insured, and prepaid express. Members are asked to take proper precautions in packing that none of these slides be broken in transit, since in many instances replacement would be impossible.

Concerning the use of the library of slides, please communicate with Rev. Stephen Hartdegen, O.F.M., Visual Aids Committee, Holy Name College, 16th & Shepherd Sts. N.E., Washington, D. C.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

New Testament*

Anglican Theological Review 24, 1942. M. E. Andrews, "Peirasmos—a Study in Form-Criticism" (299-44). The author thinks that Joachim Hans Korn, *Peirasmos; Die Versuchung des Gläubigen in der griechischen Bibel,* Stuttgart, 1937, has made a real contribution to knowledge. Christ became the typical leader of the faithful in their struggles against the temptations of this world. Korn's study gives a greater sense of history, greater objectivity of treatment, a greater sense of religious purpose.

C. H. Kraeling, "Olmstead's Chronology of the Life of Jesus" (334-54). Discusses Olmstead's book and the article in the January issue (1-26). April 7, 30 A.D., is not certain but most probable as the date of the crucifixion. Jesus was not born 20 B.C. but in the last decade of the 1st century. The 3 year cycle of Old Testament readings is not sufficiently established to fix the date for the beginning of the public ministry.

Clergy Review 22, 1942. "Pontifical Biblical Commission. Letter addressed to their Excellencies the Archbishops and Bishops of Italy" (377-80). Discusses a brochure entitled "A very grave danger to the Church and to souls: The system of scientific criticism in the study and interpretation of Holy Scripture, its tragic errors and aberrations."

"Pontifical Biblical Commission" .... continued (427-30). Msgr. Barton makes the translation and adds comments. He observes that one of the most interesting paragraphs is that in which the Commission states that the Council of Trent declares the Vulgate to be authentic in a juridical sense.

Ecclesiastical Review 108, 1943. R. F. Stoll, "Her Firstborn Son" (17-13). Shows from patristic tradition and Jewish contemporary usage that firstborn can be equivalent to only son. Particularly valuable is the translation of a papyrus of 5 B.C., an epitaph of a Jewish woman who died giving birth to her firstborn son.

Expository Times 53, 1942. A. H. Birch, "The Rhythm of English Prose (especially Biblical)" (343-4). A study of the rhythm of the Authorized Version.

C. J. Cadoux, "The Evil Eye" (354-5). "So far as I can discover, the Bible in its original text contains no clear trace of the magical idea connected with the phrase 'an evil eye,' but uses this phrase and its opposite simply to designate the contrasted qualities of stinginess and generosity."

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* A Correction: "Survey of Periodicals," p. 369 (*C.B.Q.*, October, 1942), before E. J. Goodspeed, insert: *"Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* I, 1942."

J. C. Bowner, "A Note on *apothnesko* and *koimao* in 1 Corinthians XV 20, 22." (355-6). The use of *apothnesko* for unbelievers and *koimao* for believers seems to be the reflection of a growing feeling in Christian circles that for a believer death is commingled with hope.

A. Lewis Humphries, "A Note on *pros emauton* (John xiv. 3) and *eis ta idia* (John i. 11)" (356). Proposes to translate the first, "I will come again and take you with me to my home" and for the second verse "to his home."

E. H. Blakeney, "The 'Ecbatic' use of *hina* in NT" (377-8). The ecbatic sense, a consequence and not final, would remove difficulties from several texts.

54, 1942. J. Foster, "Eschatology and the Hope of a New World" (10-4; 40-1). The triumph and glory of the Apocalypse are rightly predicated of the faithful even amid the sordidness of the struggle in this world.

C. R. Smith, "The Evil Eye" (26). "I agree with Dr. Cadoux that our Lord took over the OT concept. But I claimed . . . that Jesus 'revolutionized the whole concept' by what He added to it. He said that a man who has an Evil Eye (and thereby harms or seeks to harm someone else) really harms himself."

J. D. Percy, "An Evil Eye" (26-7). There is no reason to depart from the meaning of envy.

A. E. Garvie, "The Prince of Peace" (68-9). The context of Isaias shows that the Prince of Peace will by victory in war show His wisdom, His courage, and His goodness. Furthermore these qualities will be required for the prevention of war, and the use of the victory. The Churches should bear their witness that the settlement brought by victory may be praiseworthy.

Hibbert Journal 40, 1942. W. R. Inge, "Miracle, Myth and Mystery. A Conversation" (305-10). A discussion of the interrelation of the three in modern Christianity.

N. Bishop Harman, "Resurrection" (350-4). Paul may have suffered from trachoma and been healed by Ananias, who may have been an oculist. That the birthday of Mithras became the date of the Nativity shows that the legends of Mithras were attached to the story of Jesus. The indestructibility of matter is an argument for the immortality of the soul.

Journal of Bible and Religion 10, 1942. D. W. Riddle "Fifty Years of New Testament Scholarship" (136-40). A good review of non-Catholic work during this period.

Paul E. Johnson, "College Courses in Religion" (147-50). Studies the religion courses in some non-Catholic colleges of the northeastern states. Of the 62 institutions chosen for this study 59 offer 144 courses in the New Testament for 421 hours, while 58 offer 113 courses of 360 hours in the Old Testament.

Carl E. Purinton, "Objectives of Teachers of Bible and Religion in Liberal Arts Colleges" (153-5). The majority of teachers regard knowledge as of primary importance and attitudes as secondary in the classroom teaching of religion.

E. M. McKown, "Method and Materials in Teaching the Message of Jesus" (155-8). "The typical college teacher of the message of Jesus teaches a course entitled, 'The Life and Teachings of Jesus' or similar title, for which there are no prerequisites, and for which the student is given three hours of credit..." Only three [of 60 teachers] expressed any interest in the doctrinal element. By far the larger number of instructors are interested in the implications of Jesus' teachings for the practical life of to-day rather than mental discipline or the development of the scholarly attitude."

P. E. Davies, "The Resurrection and the Coming of the Spirit" (187-94). Studies the accounts of Easter and Pentecost in the light of religious experience.

Journal of Biblical Literature 51, 1942. P. S. Minear, "The Needle's Eye. A Study in Form Criticism" (157-69). The author retraces the history of the hyperbole in the oral tradition... "Thus this unit becomes an instructive example of the process of Christian casuistry, altering the tradition during its oral period."

H. Hirschberg, "Simon Bariona and the Ebionites" (171-91). Bariona has the meaning of sicarius or zealot, so that Simon Bariona and Simon Zelotes are one and the same. "The Ebionites were undoubtedly identical with the Baryone in Talmudic accounts who were named after Simon Bariona ... and they were justified in their claim to represent Simon Peter's original Church."

Grace Amadon, "Ancient Jewish Calendation" (227-79). "The year 31 A.D. with a passover on Friday, April 27, meets all the specified demands of the calendar and ancient Jewish record: (1) a 14 Nisan Friday; (2) an after-full-moon Friday; (3) a late season passover; and (4) a Sunday pentecost" (277). "By the one simple rule of placing the 14 Nisan passover date on the next day after the Jewish day of full moon on the Jewish meridian, good calendar practice of the ancient luni-solar type is established in harmony with the moon's first appearance after conjunction."

Ralph Marcus, "A Note on Bariona" (281) "Any attempt to relate Simon Bariona to the Ebionites must rest on sounder linguistic evidence than that offered by Mr. Hirschberg."

Journal of Near Eastern Studies I, 1942. G. G. Fox, "The Matthean Misrepresentation of *tephillin*" (373-7). Claims that Matthew by the use of phylacteria in 23:5 wished to imply the Jews considered the *tephillim* as magic charms or amulets.

Journal of Religion 22, 1942. J. W. Nixon "The Status and Prospects of the Social Gospel" (346-58). The "social gospel grew out of the American Protestant churches to the moral challenge presented by the industrialization of America during the decades following the Civil War."

F. C. Grant, "Ethics and Eschatology in the Teaching of Jesus" (359-70). "Primitive Christianity . . . was certainly eschatological and apocalyptic in outlook, and this gave driving force to its central conviction of the exaltation of Jesus. But what saved Christianity from the fate of other Messianic movements . . . was its ethics, namely, the quality of life set forth in Jesus (his own personal life, his relation to God and to his followers and to mankind generally) and the standard of life set forth in his teaching."

23, 1943. Allen Cabaniss, "Liturgy-Making Factors in Primitive Christianity" (43-58). First century Christian worship was an orderly, rich, full affair even in its very early days. This is demonstrated by reference to the temple service, the ideal of worship in prophecy, the worship in heaven as conceived by early writers, and the indications of liturgical use in the New Testament.

Journal of Theological Studies 43, 1942. C. S. Williams, "Syriasms in the Armenian Text of the Gospels" (161-7). "A study of the instances in Mark 1, given by Merk and Blake, of Syriasms in the Armenian text shows some Syriac influence but, as with Robinson's instances, the influence has been exaggerated. . . . While it is probable that there was an early translation from Syriac into Armenian, as opposed to the later revision with Greek manuscripts, the Syriac element remaining is not strong."

W. D. McHardy, "James of Edessa's Citations from the Philoxenian Text of the Book of Acts" (168-73). In spite of some divergences "it may be confidently stated that the text of the Philoxenian version of the Acts used by James of Edessa in A.D. 675 is essentially the same as the text of the eleventh century Oxford manuscript which was edited by White."

Dom Bernard Orchard, "A Note on the Meaning of Galatians 2: 3-5 (173-77). Paul is justifying himself not by arguing that the particular case of Titus did arise on the occasion of that visit but that in point of fact it never came up at all, although it should have done so if his judaizing opponents in Galatia were in the right.

E. Burrows, S.J. "The Pearl in the Apocalypse" (177-9). Contrary to some who hold that the gates of pearl in the Apocalypse must be mother of pearl, the writer maintains that they would be pearl, which is a typically Oriental conception.

H. G. Meecham, "The Imperatival use of *hina* in the New Testament" (179-80). An additional note to C. J. Cadoux's observations (*JTS* 42, 165 ff).

C. C. Tarelli, "The Byzantine Text and the Lectionaries" (181-3). Dr. Zuntz had suggested that for the reconstruction of the Byzantine text the lectionaries be consulted. This was done in the New Testament published in 1904 under the auspices of the Oecumenical Patriarch. But from an examination of this work the writer concludes "that a text formed by combining the evidence of the lectionaries with that of the other manuscripts will not be the Byzantine text in any sense which has usually been attached to that term, and it will certainly not be Hort's 'Syrian' text."

G. Zuntz, "The Byzantine Text and the Lectionaries: A Comment on Mr. Tarelli's Note" (183-4). The Antoniades Greek New Testament is devotional, not critical, and the method of presentation is thoroughly unscientific. A complete critical edition of the Lectionary is desired, the text of A.D. 1000, not of A.D. 350, and the two are likely to differ very considerably.

M. L. W. Laistner, "An Addition to Bede in MS. Galliol 177" (184-6). Referring to a note of G. Jenkins (42-45) the writer says that the phraseology and even the doctrine of that addition are hardly as unusual as Dr. Jenkins seems to suggest."

G. Ogg, "Is A.D. 41 the Date of the Crucifixion?" (187-8). The date comes from a manuscript of Hippolytus, and is probably due to a false deduction of a scribe.

Palestine Exploration Quarterly 1942. W. Ross, "The Four North Walls of Jerusalem" (69-81). The second wall enclosed the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre, and the third wall is that recently discovered by Sukenik and "the vestiges of foundations under and about the present north wall are the foundations of the north wall built by Hadrian."

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BOOK REVIEWS

H. E. WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri.* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942). Pp. x, 228; plates 96.

Mr. Winlock was connected with (and generally in charge of) the excavations here described. He describes the book as being of interest "to Egyptologists, orientalists, and anybody else who would like a story of treasure trove." Both the text and the excellent plates of the work had in the main been already published in the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York. The author, however, was desirous of making the material more generally, and popularly, available.

The book is neither a scientific nor a popular compilation of the history, culture, or art of ancient Egypt. Neither is it a history of the site of Deir el Bahri, according to stratification, or historical periods, though the excavators did come to confine themselves very considerably to the period of the Eleventh Dynasty. It is simply a personal and detailed account of what was undertaken and accomplished during each succeeding campaign of excavation.

Still the near-diary form of presentation helps the reader to share the suspense, surprises, and disappointments of the archaeologist in the field. He follows step by step the development of an archaeological expedition, and finds along with the author the various superimposed buildings, temples, shrines etc., in the great area of the ancient mortuary temples of Neb-Kepet-Re, Hat-Shepsut, and Thut-mose III. He shares in the suspense surrounding the accidental discovery of the unplundered tomb of Meket-Re', so rich in models depicting the daily life of a "Chancellor and Steward of the Royal Palace" of the Eleventh Dynasty (2000 B.C.); or that of Wah, with his mummy; or the peculiar circumstances of the discovery of the personal letters of the wealthy but querulous Heka-Nakhte. He enters with the excavators the tomb of the chancellor Khety, and admires the wall-decorations of that tomb, under the expert guidance of the author himself.

Not the least interesting part of the account are the descriptions of the methods and means the archaeologist must use to recover and repair as much of his treasure as possible. The removal of coffins and sarcophagi from impossible places; the repair of wooden figures, the saving of the decorated plaster cover of a wooden coffin, without cracking it or ruining its color.

Foundation deposits and corner-stone deposits are discovered and interpreted, as are constant reminders of that lady who so catches the modern imagination (as she must have caught the ancient), Hatshepsut.

But in the midst of all the reminders of the glory of ancient Egypt, we come upon the pitiable burials of the poor, and the workmen; and the traces of the *ancient* plunderers, who so often overcame the futile attempt of the royal, the rich, and the nobles, to make sure that their magnificent tombs would not be molested. This one section bordering on the famous Valley of the Kings, gives a grand picture of the splendors that once stood in the land of the West, the country of the dead, across from the rich cities of Thebes and Karnak.

The plates are excellent and where the pen-pictures of the author begin to fail, they help the hesitating imagination.

The book is well worth reading.

JAMES E. COLERAN, S.J.

LOUIS WALLIS, *The Bible Is Human.* A Study in Secular History. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942). Pp. xvi, 330. $2.50.

The author of this book, the third of a trilogy dealing with the economic and sociological aspects of the Bible, expresses many startling opinions which range all the way from the exclusion of the supernatural to the denial of the existence of many great Old Testament characters.

His purpose is to present the history of Israel as he sees it, and to follow the religious development of the people along socio-economic paths. This history is to be found, not in the Old Testament as we understand it, but in the original sources to which an exploiting and obscurantist orthodoxy, represented by the Jewish religious leaders during and after the exile, added all those supernatural and miraculous elements that we find today. The removal, therefore, of the supernatural must be posited, and all one's attention be fixed upon the original sources, chief and oldest of which is the E Document (Ephraimitic), describing the descendants of Joseph, viz., Ephraim, Manasseh and Machir, and detailing the economic struggle between Baal, the god of urban aristocracy, and Yahweh, the god of rural democracy.

If I may assume the role of a prophet, I shall venture this statement: Although economics is a phase of human activity that does play an important part in the affairs of men, the substitution of a socio-economic yardstick for the supernatural, as made in this work, will most certainly never be favored by "orthodox" scholars, whom Mr. Wallis berates, nor even by "liberal" scholars, who, too, come in for their share of the author's criticism. I find it hard to determine whether he intended to give us the fruits of sincere and objective scholarship, or merely made use of the Bible as a testing ground for his own private theory concerning the importance of economics and the non-existence of the supernatural. It is unfortunate that such an interesting style, as Mr. Wallis clearly possesses, should be the medium of expression for ideas that are neither scholarly nor elevating.

MATTHEW P. STAPLETON

ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN, *The Jews In Spain.* Their Social, Political and Cultural Life during the Middle Ages.

Two volumes. Volume I: A Political-Economic Study. Pages xxxi 308, 7 plates. Volume II: A Social-Cultural Study. Pages xi 412, 8 plates. Notes, Bibliography, Index, Maps. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America). $2.50 per volume, $5.00 per set, two volumes, 1942.

The above description, though rather long is not adequate. The general introduction to the two volumes, contained in the first volume is masterly. It was written by an author who knew what he was about, set his purpose and courageously clung to it throughout two long volumes. To say they are long is simply a statement, not a criticism, for they could have been much longer and nevertheless would have merited unstinted praise.

The copious notes at the end of each volume are priceless in their information. There is a wealth of archaeological, historical and talmudic lore in the packed pages of these notes. They in themselves are a veritable encyclopedia or dictionary of the matter treated in the two volumes. Most certainly the work is scholarly and scientific.

Throughout the two volumes there is no conscious effort to interpret the innumerable legal, economic, social and historical sources which are quoted objectively and are made to speak for themselves. I would say the author makes a magnificent attempt to write objective history.

The sub-titles of the two volumes (vol. I, A Political-Economic Study; vol. II, A Social-Cultural Study) tell the author's intention to make of this work an interesting study as well as a critical and scholarly one. And he has succeeded admirably. Even his quotations and commentaries of laws are literary and interesting.

The two volumes throw immense light on the Jewish Question, if we may put it so, not only in Spain and in the immediate period of which he writes—1250 to 1450 A.D.—but also in all Europe and in the succeeding two centuries. In fact, the Jewish life back in early Christian times, and therefore the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, and all the Epistles of St. Paul are in some way illuminated by the better understanding of the political-economic-social organization of the Jewish people in all lands which this work gives the studious reader.

I would say that this two volume study, besides being very interesting reading about a very interesting subject, is also a definite help to the student in his approach to a complex problem of history.

The writer is perhaps too hard on the Spanish Church authorities in some of his remarks and judgments which are not supported by documents but at no time does he say that the Pope or the Church as such unjustly persecuted the Jews.

E. A. MANGAN, C.SS.R.

SOLOMON ZEITLIN, *Who Crucified Jesus?* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942). Pp. 240. $2.50.

Modern Israel's cry of "Not guilty!" to the charge of responsibility for the death of Christ rises out of the supposition that the persecution of the race is due to that charge. Few of us are inclined to agree with the supposition. Most of the pleas entered in the case hardly merit consideration. The present book is no exception, and there would be little reason to examine it here were it not for its obvious pretension to scholarship. The jacket recounts Dr. Zeitlin's learning, and the legend is impressive to the point of convincing one that here at last the question meets a scholarly answer. But anyone familiar with the question, or with New Testament exegesis, will be disappointed. In some respects the subject proves to be outside the competency of the author, and in some other respects his treatment of it is unworthy of a scholar.

Dr. Zeitlin unfolds the subject in three stages. (1) He reviews the conditions prevailing in Palestine during the life of our Lord, and out of the circumstances builds up his first main proposition. This is the claim that there were two sanhedrins in Jerusalem at that time: the one was religious (*Bet Din*), composed of seventy-one members, a body of scholars whose province was the interpretation of Israel's religion; the other was political in the evil sense, made up of twenty-three members, a group of the chief priests who served merely as the agents of the Roman tyrant. It was the latter body that passed judgment on Christ. (2) He then evaluates the Gospels as historical sources, concluding that their "discrepancies," the late date of their composition, and their theological point of view, render them of little worth in the solution of this question. (3) Finally, he reconstructs the trial of Jesus, as he would understand it. His conclusion is that the Romans were disturbed over the messianic expectations prevalent at the time, and so were the chief priests, the Quislings. When there was some inclination on the part of the people to acknowledge Jesus as the messianic king, the chief priests, out of subserviency to the Roman authorities, arrested Him, tried Him before a "political" sanhedrin, and turned Him over to the Romans. The Romans put Him to death as a "political offender against the state." Therefore, neither the Jewish people as a whole, nor their religious sects (the Pharisees and Sadducees), had anything to do with it.

There would be little point in following the author through this argument, which is by no means new. It will, however, be worth while to look beyond the veneer of scholarship, which is the distinctive aspect of his approach to the subject, to see how well founded is the book's claim to a hearing.

If there is anything new in the argument, it is the stress laid by the author on the existence of two sanhedrins. The fact itself is not new; but rather the character the author gives to these two bodies. And even here he is on old and familiar ground to some extent. Jewish tradition, based on the analogy of later rabbinical courts, has long taught that the larger sanhedrin was an assemblage of scholars only, a teaching that has no justification in contemporary documents such as the New Testment and Josephus. The author admits his reliance on Tannaitic sources for his opinion; and these are both late and unreliable. The real novelty in the argument is the contention that the smaller court was made up only of "Quislings," and that it was but a puppet of the Roman authorities. The author does not prove the point, he merely cites some examples from the *Wars* and *Antiquities* of Josephus which seem to paint the sanhedrin in these colors. He argues: in these cases the court was "political"; therefore the court that tried Jesus was "political." Apart from the poor logic of this reasoning, he overlooks the fact that in some of these instances Josephus speaks of *the* sanhedrin, and that all but one of them occurred under Herod the Great who had little use for any sanhedrin. Further, he fails to call attention to the fact that the Mishna (*Sanhedrin*) makes full provision for both courts, and hence that both were fully acknowledged by the Jews.

An even greater lack of scholarship is manifest in the author's absurdly naive textual criticism of the New Testament. He rejects several terms and expressions that might injure his position on the mere plea that they are wanting in some manuscripts. In several of these cases he concludes "therefore it is a later interpolation." He gives as his authorities Tischendorf (which edition is not stated) and Von Soden. If one looks up these texts in Nestle (10th edition), who fairly represents both Tischendorf and Von Soden, he will find that in not one of them is the evidence against the reading sufficient even to be listed. Thus from Mark 7:6 (and Luke 13:15) he rejects "hypocrite" (p. 138); from the story of the betrayal of Judas he eliminates the term "Rabbi" (p. 140); from Mark 10:33 he drops the word "death," claiming that it was inserted later by a coypist under the influence of church teaching (p. 173); he excludes from Mt. 27:49 the whole story of Pilate washing his hands, saying, "These verses, undoubtedly, are a later edition (*sic!*) to show that the Jews, not Pilate, were responsible for his crucifixion" (p. 174f). Further, he omits twelve words from Mt. 23:24 with the usual excuse "they are omitted from some manuscripts" (p. 176). No one will call this scholarship.

The author's interpretation of the New Testament is of the type that is known as *Tendenz,* which makes the sense of a passage fit the thesis in hand. Thus he contends that the term "Jews" in St. John's Gospel refers to the people as a whole (pp. 141, 171); yet all are agreed that John uses the word almost exclusively of the leaders of Judaism. He holds that the disputes between Jesus and the Pharisees in the Fourth Gospel were concentrated on the miracles of Jesus, but not on the Halakah (p. 142); in fact he questions whether Jesus ever had a controversy with the Pharisees (p. 143). He must not have read the seventh and ninth chapters of the Fourth Gospel; and he cannot have read any of the Gospels with credence. Further, he claims that St. Paul, by using the term "the twelve" (1 Cor. 15:5), shows that he still includes Judas among the Apostles. Here he might, for the sake of scholarship, have called attention to the fact that many MSS read "the eleven" (p. 162f). This hermeneutic reaches its height in the interpretation of John 19:7. When the Jews reply to Pilate, "We have a law, and by the (or *our*) law he ought to die," the Evangelist is said to have in mind not the Jewish law but the law of Caesar (p. 168).

There are other examples of this "scholarship," but this should be enough to establish that the book falsely claims to be a learned treatment of the question. Dr. Zeitlin might merit the title of scholar in his own field of Rabbinics, but he is not qualified as an interpreter of the New Testament.

In fact, one might well ask why Dr. Zeitlin should take up this question at all. He is learned enough to know that the Jews have no need of its solution, that its answer by a Jew will hardly satisfy the true Christian, and that one who belongs to neither class will not be interested in it. He should also know that the true Christian cannot persecute the Jews, even though he believes they put Christ to death; and that those who do not follow Christ will continue to persecute the Jews, as the Romans did and as Hitler is doing, even though someone convince them the Jews did not put Christ to death. In the profound mystery of the Redemption, which involved the immolation of the Lamb of God, we quite forget who actually put our Lord to death, until a book such as this reminds us that it was the Jews.

WM. L. NEWTON

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, *A History of Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942). Pp. xiii; 324. $2.50.

"To many the New Testament appears an island of religious literature in an ancient sea." These are the opening words of the preface of Dr. Goodspeed's work. The observation is worth pondering. The theological student can easily fall into this view by reason of the method that isolates the treatment of canonical, apocryphal, and patristic literature, whereby he comes to know them from a categorical rather than an historical viewpoint. Dr. Goodspeed's book is written as a supplement to New Testament introduction. He does not repeat the story of the origins of the New Testament, but points out the genetic relations that exist between it and the Christian literature that appeared up to the time of the Council of Nicaea in 325. In the title, therefore, "Early Christian Literature" embraces all the extra-canonical writings of the early Church, some of which were at one time held in high esteem and even considered canonical by some (v.g. Letter of Clement), others of which are heretical (v.g. Gospel of the Ebionites), and the third group usually discussed in Patrology, writings defending the orthodox Christianity (v.g. The Refutation of Gnosticism of Irenaeus). The earlier literature is grouped according to type (the chapter headings II–V are: Letters, Revelations, Gospels, Acts), but for the later literature, the author considers it "preferable to present the work of each of these many-sided individuals as a unit in relation to his times and problems . . ." (p. 7 ff). Thus the chapters X-XII are entitled Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian. The book presents a unified treatment of the extra-canonical literature, and when correlated to the canonical Christian literature, it permits the Christian movement to be seen in historical perspective. I consider the method decidedly meritorious.

Dr. Goodspeed tells us that for almost forty years he has been engaged in the field of biblical and Patristic Greek. His competency is apparent in this work. The book is designed for continuous reading, and although a thoroughly scientific book, it is not encumbered with excess scientific apparatus. The more important pieces of literature are amply discussed. A brief summary of the contents of the writing is given, observations on time and place of composition, information on manuscript evidence and versions, and a discussion on literary criticism where the case demands it. The Catholic reader will disagree with Dr. Goodspeed in his interpretation of intrinsic evidence at times, since the conclusions drawn from an interpretation of such evidence are somewhat arbitrary. They fit the author's pattern in regard to the development of primitive Christianity, but that pattern may be more philosophic than historic. It is stated, for example, on p. 91 that the Book of James was written "in support of views that *were coming to be held orthodox*" (Italics mine) as to the virginity of Mary, and on p. 92 that "*although frowned upon by church authorities* the Book of James survived . . . ." Do views become orthodox in spite of church authority, or is it plastic in the hands of the *Gemeinde?* The author's hypotheses, although commonly accepted by liberal critics, are not thereby facts; they should not therefore be stated as facts, as when it is said (p. 98) that the letters to Timothy and Titus were written after 150. On p. 70, Eusebius' reference to the passage in Papias concerning "the woman accused of *many sins* before the Lord which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews" is said to refer "evidently" to the incident of the adulterous woman in the Fourth Gospel passage. It is a later interpolation from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The question of the origin of Jn. 7:53–8:11 is not so easily solved (Cf. Lagrange, *Evangile selon Saint Jean,* Paris, 1927, p. 221 ff).

Dr. Goodspeed has written a readable, informative, and practicable book. It is valuable to the New Testament scholar particularly for the light it throws on the New Testament Canon. It includes a list of the lost books of Christian literature, a select bibliography for each chapter, a chronology of writings and authors, and an index. I think it would have added to the value of the book had one or two maps been included.

JOHN J. DOUGHERTY

A. T. OLMSTEAD, *Jesus in the Light of History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942). Pp. xi, 274; Appendix, A Note on Gospel Chronology; Bibliographical Notes; Indices of References, Names and Subjects. $2.75.

Who was Jesus of Nazareth? When did he live? Where was his home? What was his environment? How did he act? What did he teach? Why did he die? These are the questions which the author puts in his preface and which he attempts to answer as an historian, thus purposing to meet the great Prophet face to face under the blazing light of history.

The author does not consider our canonical gospels as authentic accounts of the word and work of Jesus. "At times they are in flat disagreement, again they agree so well we are convinced the information goes back to a single common source. Always the accounts are colored by the faith of the infant church" (p. ix). "What did he teach? Even our best sources quote sayings in answer to questions not raised until the days of the early church; these we shall carefully remove for inclusion in a history of the Apostolic Age" (p. ix). This attitude towards the gospels is carried out throughout the entire work. Among very many instances, in reference to the question put by the crowd to Jesus, "Rabbi, how did you come here?" (Jn. 6:25), there is the remark, "The question is not answered in our sources, for there is another gap in John's narrative. Next we find Jesus in the Capernaum synagogue. His words, once given by John, have been supplanted by one of the Evangelist's long-winded sermons" (p. 140). Again, since

John, in chapter seven, gives no reply to the objection put by some Jews to others concerning Bethlehem as the birthplace of the Messias, the author comes to the conclusion that this is incontrovertible evidence that John's narrative was written before the "discovery" of the Davidic birth and birthplace as a consequence of the expected second return in 40 A.D. (p. 159, footnote).

The author's attitude concerning miracles may be judged from the following assertions, among several. "The authors of the Lives tell us of spectacular miracles, even the usually objective John has them, one a resurrection from the dead!" (p. 59). "Despite the literary form, there can be no doubt that Jesus did cure mental diseases. The phenomena of present-day mental healing may suggest the process" (p. 67). Concerning the account of the disputation between the hierarchy and the man born blind, the author says, "Were not this an account of a miraculous healing, we should have had no hesitation in accepting it as completely authentic" (p. 154). After such an attitude towards miracles in general, it is not perfectly clear just what the author himself thinks about the resurrection of Jesus. One thing is, however, very clear that he is at odds with the modern psychologist on this point. Concerning the appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalena he says, "If modern scholars do not accept the vision as objective reality, the blame should be laid on the psychologist and not on the historian" (p. 249).

The author does not accept the virgin birth or perpetual virginity of Mary. "Quite literally, Jesus might have been called 'the first born among many brethren.' Joseph and Mary should have been happy; their prayers were blessed with a goodly number of children. After Jesus came Jacob or James, to die as head of the infant church" (p. 3). According to Olmstead the Magnificat is "a song of expected victory written a generation or two earlier, and inserted piecemeal throughout the story of John's birth" (p. 30). Not a word here about Mary.

Throughout the book the author is very definite in all his dates. According to him, Luke's account of the rejection at Nazareth is correct and correctly placed, that of Matthew and Mark is wrong. This, he says, took place December 18, 28 A.D. Jesus died April 9, 30 A.D. Jesus' ministry lasted 475 days. According to him John, who describes the last supper as an ordinary meal, not the paschal meal, is correct. The author gives the highest credence to new tables published in 1942 by Dr. Waldo Dubberstein and Dr. Richard A. Parker, *Babylonian Chronology, 625* B.C.-*46* A.D. He also brings into account Jacob Mann's, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, I, 1940.

In the chapter on Jerusalem the author has a detailed description of Jerusalem at the time of Christ. He accepts the traditional site of

Calvary and the praetorium. Maps of his archaeological reconstruction are given at the front and back of the book.

The historical background of the New Testament is treated at length, and the attitude of the civil and religious rulers towards Christ is carefully noted. The author thus explains the comings and goings of Christ throughout his public ministry. Sometimes this is overdrawn. As the reason why Jesus spoke from the skiff on the Lake of Galilee, Olmstead suspects it was to be able to make a quick escape should he be pursued by Herod. "In our sources," he says, "the reason is the thronging crowds" (p. 108).

Concerning the person and teaching of Jesus, as given by Olmstead, many things could be noted. The author holds Jesus to have been born about 20 B.C. It would be taken for granted that he was of sufficient maturity to justify the assumption of a prophet's authority, and that would mean that he was at a minimum about fifty" (p. 1). In a footnote he says, "This necessity was not understood by the Greek Luke, who therefore conjectures 'about thirty.'" The opponents object against Jesus that He was "not yet fifty." So Olmstead concludes that Jesus was born about fifty years earlier, i.e., 20 B.C. There is certainly not much logic in his conclusion. Moreover, he says nothing in this connection about the rest of the words of the objectors "and thou hast seen Abraham?" No doubt he does not consider them authentic.

He claims that it can be proven quite definitely that besides the Bible Jesus also read the wisdom of Ahiqar and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; also Tobias and Ecclesiasticus, which he does not consider as part of the Bible.

To seek reasons for Jesus' failure to marry is quite futile, says Olmstead. "It cannot be explained as due to consciousness of a future mission, for this consciousness did not come to Jesus until decades after he had reached the normal age of marriage" (p. 56). "At the moment of baptism, there descended upon Jesus the consciousness that he too had been summoned to carry on God's work" (p. 57). Concerning the temptation the author has this to say: "The stories of these temptations must represent Jesus' own teaching. They agree fully with his actual practice, as they do not with what his disciples expected of him; and they flatly contradict what the early church believed of the Son of God" (p. 59). He considers the third attempt of Satan as a metaphorical explanation of Jesus' temptation to declare himself the Messias. "But Jesus felt in himself no messianic consciousness" (p. 60). Jesus, according to Olmstead, never proclaimed himself the Messias and never accepted such attribution from others. "Whatever the expectations of the pilgrims, many of whom would still support him, Jesus himself had never openly announced himself to be the Messiah" (p. 201). What does Olmstead think of the many passages in our gospels where Jesus proclaims himself to be the Messias? They are not considered genuine by him. For instance, in reference to the Samaritan woman's assertion concerning the Messias, "He, when he comes, will proclaim everything," Olmstead remarks, "Jesus' reply has been edited and we do not know what he said" (p. 97). Throughout the book, it never seems to occur to the author that Jesus in his teaching and manner of acting purified the false ideas of the Jews concerning the messianic kingdom, while at the same time asserting most emphatically his messiasship.

Olmstead asserts that "Jesus was always on good terms with the Pharisees, who recognized their mutual kinship of thought" (p. 102). He says that it cannot be too emphatically insisted upon that all the passages where the Pharisees are bracketed with scribes, high priests, Herodians, or other opponents of Jesus, are interpolations (p. 197, footnote).

As the genuine teaching of Jesus, Olmstead takes the simple, charming words which he spoke to the people, the parables and comparisons which have the oriental rhythm. According to him, Jesus taught a purely spiritual kingdom of God, love of God, charity towards all men. "Far indeed was the Christ of orthodox theology from the Carpenter of Nazareth" (p. 269).

Concerning the early church the author maintains that the last thought in the minds of the disciples would have been that they were founding a new religion. They were merely a Jewish sect of which James, not an apostle, the oldest surviving brother of Jesus, was the head. The sect ultimately flickered out.

Olmstead's book is written in an easy, flowing style. Here and there the author gives a note of polemic nature, but in general the work is not controversial. Many are the bold, bald statements.

While giving the author due credit for historical erudition manifested in other works, in this book he does not proceed as an historian in attempting to give a true picture of Jesus in the light of history. He has indeed "carefully removed" or fails to appreciate the passages of the gospels which show Jesus to be, what he most emphatically claimed to be, the Messias, the Son of God. A more appropriate title for this book, one which accurately describes it, would be "Jesus in the Light of Rationalistic Criticism."

KEVIN SMYTH, O.F.M.Cap.

CYRIL GAUL, O.S.B., *Rome and the Study of Scripture* (St. Meinrad, Indiana: The Abbey Press, 1943). Pp. 109. Price, 50¢. Liberal discount for quantity orders.

This is the third and latest edition of *Rome and the Study of Scripture.* In a convenient form The Abbey Press has collected the principal papal pronouncements on Sacred Scripture from the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* of Leo XIII to the present time. It is fittingly called the "Jubilee Edition" since this year commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the encyclical. This edition has two distinct advantages over the former: first, the reprint appears in a more readable type; and second, it contains the "Letter to the Hierarchy of Italy" issued by the Biblical Commission on August 20, 1941.

The Abbey Press and the editor, Fr. Cyril Gaul, O.S.B., are to be congratulated for their work. The pamphlet realizes in a great measure the wish and desire of Leo XIII to make the study of Sacred Scripture better known and loved not only among students of the Bible, but also among the Catholic laity.

CHARLES H. PICKAR, O.S.A.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Some of these may be reviewed in subsequent issues.)

431 George St., Braddock, Pa.:

The Epistles and Gospels For the Sundays, Holydays, Various Intentions and Special Occasions In the Catholic Church of the Greek Rite. Compiled by Rev. Julius Grigassy, D.D. 1942. Pp. xiv, 464. $1.50.

The Jewish Publication Society of America, Phila., Pa.:

The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure to the American Revolution. By Salo Wittmayer Baron. Three Volumes. Volume I: pp. xiv, 374. Volume II: pp. vi, 366. Volume III: Notes, Bibliography and Index; pp. x, 572. $2.50 per volume; $7.50 per set.

The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., Inc., Phila., Pa.:

The Five Books of Moses. By Oswald T. Allis. 1943. Pp. xii, 319. $3.00.

Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.:

Marriage Laws in the Bible and the Talmud. By Louis M. Epstein. 1942. Pp. x, 362. $3.50.

Wolfer Printing Co., Los Angeles, Cal.:

Historical Records Concerning Jesus the Christ Messiah. Compiled from Manuscripts in Libraries at Rome and Constantinople. Gift Edition published by Arthur E. Overbury. Pp. 246.

Catholic Truth Society, London, England:

Prophecy. By Rev. C. Lattey, S.J. 1942. Pp. 20. Price Threepence.

ΠΛΟΥΣΙΟΣ AND COGNATES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Rev. Paul H. Furfey, Ph.D.

The doctrine of the New Testament on wealth seems quite clear as far as the broad, underlying principles are concerned. Wealth is never presented, even by implication, as an evil in itself. But, man being what he is, it becomes an exceedingly dangerous temptation and "the deceitfulness of riches" (Mt. 13:22) chokes the word of God. Therefore at least interior detachment is called for (Mt. 5:3). Since no one can "serve God and mammon" (Mt. 6:24) and since "covetousness is the root of all evils" (1 Tim. 6:10), the true Christian must have a certain holy indifference toward the goods of this world.

Exegetical difficulties arise, however, from certain passages which would seem to imply that, at least in certain cases, not only the desire for wealth but its mere physical possession is an evil. The most famous passage, of course, is our Lord's comment when the Rich Young Man refused to renounce his possessions. "Amen I say to you, with difficulty will a rich man enter the kingdom of heaven. And further I say to you, it is easier for a camel to pass through an eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven" (Mt. 19:23-24). It is scarcely necessary to point out that the expression about the needle's eye is only an hyperbole, a proverbial expression for extreme difficulty. The true meaning is that the salvation of the rich is very difficult but not impossible, as is shown by our Lord's comment to the "exceedingly astonished" disciples, "With God all things are possible" (Mt. 19:26). The latter comment, however, would seem to imply that it requires something like a miracle of grace to save the rich. Somewhat parallel to the passage on the Rich Young Man is the woe pronounced by Christ, "Woe to you rich, for you are now having your comfort" (Lk. 6:24). Again, St. James seems to denounce, not just certain individual rich men, but the rich as a whole social class (Jas. 5:1-6).

It is important to note precisely where the exegetical difficulty lies. The renunciation of riches as a counsel of perfection raises no problem. It has a solid basis in the New Testament. The difficulty comes from the texts just cited which, taken in isolation, appear to mean that to be rich (*πλούσιος*) is to endanger one's salvation, not merely in certain special cases but in the case of the average Christian. The solution of this problem hinges on the interpretation of the word πλούσιος. If this term means literally *a moneyed man,* then it would seem that all Christians with more than a certain amount of wealth are bound to renounce it under pain of jeopardizing their salvation. This represents one extreme interpretation. The other extreme is the interpretation of πλούσιος in a merely moral sense, *a man not only wealthy but attached to his wealth.* This view would never require anything more of a wealthy Christian than some sort of vague interior detachment. Both of these immoderate views have been defended, at least implicitly; the one, by such groups as the Fraticelli of the Middle Ages who overemphasized the importance of literal poverty, the other, by selfish and worldly Christians, anxious to escape their duty of genuine detachment.

To understand the true meaning of the word πλούσιος and its cognates (πλουσίως, πλουτέω, πλουτίζω, πλοῦτος) it is important to examine the socio-economic background of the New Testament. This is a principle of prime importance for the study of New Testament social doctrine and one which is unfortunately too often overlooked. Words and phrases of social significance must not be studied in isolation but in relation to the times. One must never assume without proof that such terms as *war, taxes, law, ruler,* meant the same things in the first century as they do in the twentieth. A mere literal translation of such words from Greek into a modern language is not enough. Attached to them is a wealth of implication which calls for detailed study.

Fortunately for our purpose, a great deal of material has been accumulated in recent years concerning the socio-economic life of the Hellenistic and Roman world. Some of the new data have come from a reworking of the classic texts. Still more have come from a study of the inscriptions, papyri, and archaeological finds.[1] This material furnishes a background for a profitable study of the meaning of the word πλούσιος.

Not a great deal of help is to be derived from the etymology of πλούσιος. It is related to such words as πολύς, πλέω, and πίμπλημι. Its hypothetical Indo-European root is **peleu,* pour, flow, abundance, fullness, along with **pelē* (Lat. *plenus*).[2] More pertinent is a consideration of the meaning which the word had acquired by the end of the fourth century in Greece.[3] At this period we find Greek society divided into two groups, the πλούσιοι and the πένητες.[4] Each individual belonged in one or other of the two classes. It is impossible to translate these two terms by our words *rich* and *poor*. For these terms imply a threefold division of society in which a large intermediate class exists consisting of people who are neither rich nor poor. In our usage the terms apply only to the extremes. To express adequately the twofold division to which the Greeks were accustomed some other terms are needed.

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[1] The latest results are summarized conveniently in two excellent recent works, M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,* 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1941), and T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome,* 6 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1933-40). Both are indispensable for a serious study of the social thought of the New Testament.

The essential mark of the πλούσιος was his ability to support himself by operating with his capital, whereas the πένης had to rely on his own labor. In consequence, the πλούσιος could be at leisure (σχολάζειν), freed from the necessity of routine work. On the other hand, the πένης lived from his daily toils. This need not imply what we call "poverty." The word for that was πτωχεία. The πτωχός had to get along without a penny to his name. The πένης was forced to live a frugal and laborious life, without accumulating capital on the one hand but without falling short on the other.[5]

On the whole, perhaps the best translation of οἱ πλούσιοι and οἱ πένητες would be *the bourgeoisie* and *the working class*. In one important respect, however, the Greek bourgeoisie differed from our own. Whereas we are apt to think of professional men as members of the bourgeoisie, the Greeks looked upon teachers, artists, physicians, architects, and the like as members of the working class along with other skilled workmen. The Greek bourgeoisie was more properly and exclusively bourgeois than our own.

[2] Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Heidelberg: Winter, Paris: Klincksieck, 1923) *s. v.* πλοῦτος.

[3] J. Hemelrijk, Πενία *en* πλοῦτος (Utrecht: University of Utrecht, 1925) is a competent study of the meanings of the word from Homer to Aristotle.

[4] Δυο μέρη τετυχηκεν ἐξ ὧν ἡ πόλις, πλούσιοι καὶ πένητες. Aristotle, *Politica*, 1318 a.

[5] πτωχοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίος, ὃν σὺ λέγεις, ζῆν ἐστιν μηδὲν ἔχοντα. τοῦ δὲ πένητος ζῆν φειδόμενον καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις προσέχοντα, περιγίγνεσθαι δ'αὐτῷ μηδὲν, μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ἐπιλείπειν. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 552-54.

The Greek bourgeoisie of the fourth century rested on an increasingly capitalistic basis. Commercial farming had grown at the expense of subsistence farming. Wealthy owners of estates practiced scientific agriculture and produced wine, oil, vegetables, fruits, and flowers in quantity for the market. Industry showed the same tendency. Shops, owned by capitalists and manned largely by slave labor, manufactured goods for sale in the international market. If these shops were tiny compared to our modern factories, they were nevertheless important as indicative of a trend. The distribution of goods was also increasingly capitalistic. Sea-borne commerce offered an attractive opportunity for enterprising men with money to invest. These various capitalistic operations were facilitated by a well-developed banking system.[6] The bourgeoisie of the time was typically comfortable, conservative, intelligent, and quite this-worldly in their way of life.[7] The average bourgeois citizen would not be wealthy according to our standards, but he lived in physical comfort and he had the education and the leisure to appreciate the art and literature of the day. In the meantime the working class was suffering from unemployment and a growing shortage of food.

After Alexander's conquest a new, Hellenistic culture developed throughout the Greek world and the East. In the interchange of ideas the East learned more from Greece than vice versa. For one thing, the spirit of the Greek bourgeoisie penetrated the eastern world. This was due partly to the natural mechanism of cultural diffusion; but beyond that it was furthered by the conscious policy of the Hellenistic monarchs. As Greeks these men were foreigners in their own realms. They faced the difficult task of keeping in subjection the natives over whom they ruled. Moreover they faced a varied series of harassing economic problems. Under the circumstances what was more natural than that they should turn for assistance to the efficient bourgeoisie of their Greek homeland?

The economic history of the Greeks in Egypt is known in fair detail through the papyri. The Ptolemies, as successors of the native Pharaohs, inherited immense personal wealth, but they called in Greeks to help them manage their affairs. In the process these men often accumulated fortunes of their own.[8] There is less information on Seleucid Syria; but certainly here too the bulk of the wealth gravitated to a bourgeois class composed partly of Greek immigrants and partly of natives grown rich on the Greek model. In Greece itself the prosperity of the capitalist class increased when Alexander's conquest opened up new markets. Later it declined, but this decline was probably not as rapid or as extreme as some have supposed. Throughout the Hellenistic world the outward and visible sign of bourgeois prosperity was the striking growth of cities. Within these cities there developed a brilliant urban life. The bourgeoisie adorned them with splendid public buildings and monuments and managed affairs generally; for it was the policy of the Hellenistic monarchs to allow the cities a considerable amount of self-government as far as their internal affairs were concerned.

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[6] For a good summary with references to the literature, see Gustave Glotz, *Histoire grecque* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1936-), vol. 3, pp. 10-14. Also, Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 90-125.

[7] Our chief authorities on the psychology of the bourgeoisie at the end of the fourth century are the comedies of Menander and the *Characters* of Theophrastus. They dealt with Athens, but conditions were doubtless similar elsewhere in Greece.

The second century saw the rise of Rome to a dominant position in the East. But Roman domination certainly did not destroy the power of the bourgeoisie, whatever changes it wrought in the personnel of the capitalist class. After the completion of the conquest and after the confused period of the Civil Wars, the *pax Romana* proved a great boon to commerce, and commerce was the foundation of bourgeois prosperity. Enterprising men were likely to make their fortunes in commerce and then invest their money more conservatively in agriculture, industry, and banking. The life of Trimalchio[9] is fiction, but it is fiction which runs true to the facts as we know them from contemporary records. This ex-slave inherited his capital from his master, increased it by commercial operations especially in wine, and then invested his fortune in agriculture and banking. Like their Hellenistic predecessors, the rulers of Rome found it expedient to have the support of the bourgeois class.

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[8] The case of Zenon is particularly well known. Beginning as the steward of the Philadelphia estate of Apollonius, *dioketes* of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Zenon became a wealthy capitalist in his own right. See M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1922).

[9] Described in the *Cena Trimalchionis* attributed to Petronius Arbiter (d. A.D. 66).

Such in broad outline was the status of the bourgeoisie, the πλούσιοι, when the New Testament was written. Now let us turn our attention to the sacred text itself. In doing so, it is important to bear in mind the question whether the πλούσιοι as therein represented are more or less typical of the Hellenistic and Roman bourgeoisie as just described, or whether on the other hand they form a distinct and different class, the word πλούσιος being used in some special sense peculiar to New Testament thought. In making this examination two sorts of data will be considered, first those bearing on the economic basis of the class and then those bearing on their habits and personal characteristics.

Πλούσιος and its cognates occur 68 times in the New Testament, 34 times in a literal sense and 34 times figuratively. Most of the figurative usages (26) occur in the Pauline epistles. Of the literal usages, the only ones with which we are here concerned, 20 appear in the Synoptics, 3 in St. Paul, 5 in St. James, and 6 in the Apocalypse. The words do not occur in the Fourth Gospel, the Acts, nor the epistles of St. John and St. Jude.[10]

From the standpoint of the economic basis of their wealth, it is convenient to classify into three groups the πλούσιοι who are specifically mentioned in the New Testament as such. First, there were the rich agriculturalists. A second group derived their income by operating more directly with money. The rather unsatisfactory term financiers may be applied to them. Merchants make up a third group. The rich agriculturalists, as contemporary records show, were subdivided into two classes. There were the commercial farmers who worked their own estates, employing hired laborers or slaves, and there were the *rentiers* who let out their estates to tenant farmers. Of course the two might be combined, part of the estate being worked by the owner and part rented.[11]

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[10] Data from D. W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1937). In classifying usages as literal or figurative, Bauer may have made some questionable decisions; but in general he is sound.

[11] On Palestinian agriculture under the Roman Empire see F. M. Heichelheim, "Roman Syria" in T. Frank, *op. cit.*, vol 4; G. H. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 4 vols. in 5 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1928-35) and S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* (Leipzig: Fock, 1910-12), vol. 2, pp. 147-247.

Both types of farmer-capitalists are met with in the New Testament. The "householder who went out early in the morning to hire laborers for his vineyard" (Mt. 20:1) had to make five trips to the market place in one day seeking workers. He must have employed a considerable number of men and his estate must, therefore, have been fairly large. Such a man would not be likely to work with his own hands; his full time would be occupied with management. He was a capitalist farmer. This individual is not called πλούσιος, but the term is used by St. James of the rich agriculturalists who kept back unjustly the wages of the laborers who reaped their fields (Jas. 5:4). The *rentier* is represented by the absentee landlord who owned a vineyard and "let it out to vine-dressers and went abroad for a long time" (Lk. 20:9 and parallels). Owners of large estates might not make their money exclusively from agriculture. In the workshops of their estates they might manufacture articles for sale or they might engage in various sorts of financial enterprise with their capital.[12]

It is not always clear from the text of the New Testament to which of the two classes a given agriculturalist belongs. The πλούσιος who figures in Lk. 16:1 as the master of the unjust steward might have been in either category. The unjust steward might have managed his estate for him by hiring workers to till the soil, or perhaps the oil and wheat which the debtors owed his master might have represented rent for land payable in kind. In this connection it is worth noting that tenant farmers were not necessarily poor men. In some cases they were capitalists with enough of the "mammon of wickedness" to rent large tracts of land to be farmed as a commercial venture. It is also hard to determine the status of the πλούσιος who appears as the rich fool in Lk. 12:16-21. In any case he was certainly no subsistence farmer producing for immediate use. His accumulated capital was abundant and he was looking forward to a life of luxury when he was overtaken by death.

After this brief discussion of the capitalist-farmers, we turn to the second group, the financiers. Zacchaeus was a πλούσοις of this class. The name of his office is given as ἀρχιτελώνης (Lk. 19:2), a designation which has been variously interpreted. Was he an independent publican who had bought in his own name the privilege of collecting the customs in the important commercial city of Jericho, or was he merely the employee of another publican, yet enjoying a position of some executive importance? It is impossible to answer the question with certainty. There is surely nothing unreasonable, however, in the view that he was a publican in his own right. It is not a valid objection to say that Zacchaeus was a Jew. First of all, the fact itself is uncertain; our Lord's words, "He, too, is a son of Abraham" (Lk. 19:9), could be understood in a spiritual sense. Besides, it is not certain that to be a Jew would disqualify a man from being an independent publican.

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[12] Heichelheim, *op. cit.*, p. 147. Both the laborers and the tenants on the estates fell into various different classes, the arrangements being somewhat different in each case. The details do not seem to be relevant to the present purpose, so the topic is omitted here. The references of the last note will supply full information.

If the status of Zacchaeus himself is obscure, at least we do have a fair amount of information about publicans in general in New Testament times. Under the early Roman Empire taxes on land and poll taxes were collected by state officials, but customs, tolls, and the like were farmed out to publicans. There was widespread complaint about the injustices of the latter. In Rome itself Nero had to face repeated complaints about the *immodestia* of the publicans and seriously considered abolishing indirect taxation altogether as a *pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium.*[13] The popular attitude as reflected in the New Testament is too well known to call for discussion. The rabbinical writings display the same feeling.[14] The גבאים, collectors of direct taxes, are treated very leniently in comparison with the מוכסים, customs collectors who worked for the tax-farmers. Since the publicans had paid a fixed sum for the privilege of collecting a certain tax, it was obviously in their interest to exact the last farthing. Since the exact amount to be paid in a specific instance was often more or less a matter of judgment, the temptation to unfairness was great.

Zacchaeus, by his own judgment at least, had not been unjust on a large scale. For his resolution to give half his goods to the poor and make fourfold restitution out of the remainder implies that the amount of his unjust gains could not have exceeded one-eighth of the total in any case. However, the legitimate profits of his position were probably generous. Moreover, the publican was in an advantageous position to engage in other lines of business on the side. He would be a man possessing capital in the form of ready money. Through his office he would enjoy the co-operation of state officials. His position gave him an opportunity to watch closely the flow of trade. A man like this would have many chances to engage in speculation. It is not improbable that Zacchaeus had profited by such opportunities.

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[13] Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII, 50.

[14] L. Goldschmid, "Les impôts et droits de douane en Judée sous les Romains," *Revue des Études Juives*, XXXIV (1897), pp. 192 ff. gives references to the pertinent texts.

Another type of *πλούσιοι* are mentioned by St. James. "Do not the rich use their power to oppress you, and do they not drag you before judgment-seats?" (Jas. 2:6). Were the oppressors Christians or not? If not, it might have been a question of religious persecution. However, the context implies that the men in question were Christians, for St. James had just been talking about the way the rich were treated in church and in the text quoted he is arguing that they did not deserve preferential treatment. The nature of the oppression referred to in the text remains somewhat obscure. It may be significant that St. James uses the verb *καταδυναστεύουσιν* which is used frequently in the LXX of the injustice of the rich toward the weak and poor. Some sort of injustice of a financial character seems to be contemplated, possibly usury. It is well known, of course, that the lending of money at interest was prohibited among Israelites by the Mosaic Code, but the foreigner[15] was not protected by this provision. Moreover, the prohibition was far from being scrupulously observed, as the complaints of the rabbinical writers make clear.[16] It may be that avaricious Jews made their conversion to Christianity an excuse to circumvent the regulation, in which case, however, the *κριτήρια* before which the unfortunate brethren were brought could hardly have been Jewish tribunals as they are usually understood to be.[17]

The passage from St. James suggests rather obscurely the activities of Jewish bankers. In any case these individuals are mentioned in the New Testament. The "wicked and slothful servant" in the parable of the talents is reproached for not lending the money in his charge to the bankers, τοῖς τραπεζίταις (Mt. 25: 27). This Greek term, the Hebrew שולחני, the Latin *mensarius,* and the English *banker,* are all etymologically related to the words for *table* in their own or cognate languages. Beyond a doubt the money-changers in the temple who did their business at tables and who were expelled by Christ were bankers in the same sense as those of Mt. 25:27. The activities of the Jewish bankers have been carefully studied by Lambert[18] who classifies their operations under four heads. They changed money. They passed on the genuineness of coins. They engaged in banking operations properly so called. They engaged in commercial enterprises either independently or with others. Under the third of these four heads belongs their function as holders of deposited funds. It seems that depositors could draw on their deposits by orders something like our modern checks. The last of the four type of operations mentioned by Lambert also sounds quite modern. Through the deposits in their keeping the bankers commanded a supply of liquid capital, and this gave them a strategic position in the commercial life of their time. Although the bankers are not specifically mentioned as πλούσιοι in the New Testament, their activities throw some light on the whole class to which they belonged.

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[15] נָכְרִי Deut. 23:21, T.M.

[16] E. Lambert, "Les changeurs et la monnaie en Palestine du I-er au III-e siècle de l'ère vulgaire d'après les textes talmudiques," *Revue des Études Juives*, LI (1906), pp. 217 ff. and LII (1906), pp. 24 ff. See the citations on p. 34.

[17] J. Chaine, *L'épitre de saint Jacques* (Paris: Gabalda, 1927) *in hoc loc.*

Besides the farmer-capitalists and the financiers, rich merchants appear as a class of πλούσιοι in the New Testament. The important texts dealing with this class appear in the Apocalypse. For two reasons it is important to remember this. In the first place, the Apocalypse brings a change of background. The Synoptics dealt with conditions in Palestine, a somewhat specialized part of the Roman Empire. St. James wrote to the Jews of the Dispersion, but the background with which he was familiar was again Palestine. With St. John, however, we enter the cosmopolitan Greco-Roman world of international trade. St. John's home was at Ephesus, a city which held a key position in this trade. In the second place the Apocalypse is a revelation. The larger part of it deals with the future. This raises the question: To what extent can the data of the Apocalypse be interpreted in the light of conditions existing at the end of the first century? The correct answer probably is that even when the facts refer to an indefinite future, the terminology is still the terminology of

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[18] *Op. cit.*

St. John's day. The πλούσιοι of the Apocalypse, then, belong to the same general class as those in the Synoptics and St. James.

There is a casual mention of the πλούσιοι in Apoc. 6:15. They hid themselves along with everyone else at the opening of the sixth seal. This is not very relevant to our present purpose. But the eighteenth chapter is vastly important. This deals with the fall of Babylon and the effect of that event on those engaged in commerce. "The merchants of the earth" had grown rich (ἐπλούτησαν) "by the power of her wantonness" (Apoc. 18:3), that is, by catering to her taste for luxury. They sing a dirge over her, not it would seem on account of the suffering of her inhabitants, but because "in one hour riches (πλοῦτος) so great were laid waste" (Apoc. 18:17), and because they had lost a market for the goods enumerated in Apoc. 18:12-13. The mariners add their own lament for the fall of "the great city wherein all were made rich (ἐπλούτησαν) who had their ships at sea" (Apoc. 18:19).

In spite of the symbolic language, the interpretation of this vision is clear in its main outlines. Babylon is Rome, which has been presented in the preceding chapter in the form of a woman sitting on a beast symbolizing the Roman Empire.[19] Rome is to be understood of the historic Rome not only in and for itself but also as a symbol of all worldly and powerful states which set themselves up against God and His Church. Similarly the merchants are to be understood as the merchants actually trading under the Empire and also as symbols of a class which profits by the service of these luxurious states. It would be interesting to consider the list of goods mentioned in Apoc. 18:12-13 and the part they played in the commerce of the Roman Empire, but it would not be profitable for our present purpose. As stated above, empire-wide commerce was the backbone of the prosperity of the contemporary bourgeoisie.

Before we conclude this sketch of the economics of the New Testament πλούσιοι, one more point may be profitably considered. How rich were these men? Before attempting some sort of an answer to this question from the meager data available, it is well to recall one fact. It is probably true on the whole that the possession of a considerable wealth was an accidental, rather than an essential, characteristic of the πλούσιος. As we have seen from the classical use of the word, the distinguishing mark of the πλούσιος was his ability to live from his capital without routine labor. He had to possess capital to do so, but not necessarily a large capital. The antonym of πλούσιος was not πτωχός (pauper) but πένης (member of the working class).

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[19] For a very excellent discussion of the symbolism involved see E. B. Allo, *Saint Jean; l'Apocalypse* (Paris: Gabalda, 1933).

There is some relevant material among the sayings of the Tannaim. R. Tarphon, who was old enough to remember the services in the Temple, and who is therefore a valuable witness to New Testament times, gave it as his opinion that a man is rich (עשיר) if he possesses "a hundred vineyards, a hundred fields, and a hundred slaves to work in them."[20] The meager data which we have on the prices of land and slaves in Roman Syria of the first century[21] do not permit an estimate of the value of this amount of capital in monetary terms, especially as the amount and quality of the land in the hundred vineyards and the hundred fields is left undetermined, but obviously this was a large amount of wealth, probably much more than the average "rich" man would possess. In Galilee of the second century two men were regarded as wealthy who had ten and twenty thousand denarii respectively,[22] but the standard of wealth would naturally be lower after the catastrophe of the Jewish revolts. A man in Antioch under Domitian complained of straitened circumstances because his capital of twenty thousand drachmas would vanish when he gave dowries to his four daughters, but his spirits were restored when he made a good investment and found a treasure of three thousand darics.[23] On the other hand, two men of Judea living under the same emperor who owned land between them worth nine thousand denarii could point to their horny hands as evidence that they were workingmen.[24] They personally tilled the farm they owned.

If it is worth while at all to hazard a guess on the basis of such scanty evidence, one might tentatively suggest that perhaps the men in the lowest ranks of the πλούσιοι might command a capital of the order of twenty thousand denarii or drachmas in New Testament times. It is practically impossible to convert this sum into modern money in any realistic way. By the conventional standard which equates one Roman denarius to twenty cents, a standard sometimes used by competent scholars for this purpose, twenty thousand denarii would be four thousand dollars, while twenty thousand Asiatic drachmas would be about five-sixths of that amount. But these figures seriously underestimate the purchasing power of the sums in question. It is more illuminating to remember that "a denarius a day" was a standard wage in New Testament times.[25] By this standard the sums mentioned would represent a respectable capital, though not great wealth by any means.

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[20] Bab. Shabb. 25 b. Note that עָשִׁיר is the Hebrew word which most commonly corresponds to the Greek πλούσιος in the LXX. See E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897). For further Talmudic references see, Heichelheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-81, and H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 4 vols. in 5 (Munich: Beck, 1922-28), vol. 1, p. 826.

[21] The data have been collected in convenient form by Heichelheim, *op. cit.*

[22] Bab. Erub. 86 a.

[23] Philostratus, *Apollonius*, VI, 39.

[24] Hegesippus quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, III, xx, 2.

From the foregoing data it will be seen that the economic background of the New Testament πλούσιοι fits in very well with the general picture of the first-century bourgeoisie as known to us from the classic texts, from archaeology, and from epigraphic evidence. It remains for us to inquire whether the same correspondence exists between the habits and personal characteristics of the class as described in the sacred text and the profane sources respectively. The evidence in this category is necessarily less satisfactory because it is less concrete and objective. Psychological attitudes are more subtle. It is easier to describe a man's business than his philosophy of life.

The New Testament presents the πλούσιοι as a class of men who are prone to overvalue money. They love money. Wealth gives them a pleasing feeling of importance. They rely on money and judge persons and events in monetary terms. The Rich Young Man turned his back on the Lord sorrowfully because he could not make up his mind to part with his great wealth (Lk. 18:23). The rich merchants and mariners grieved over the fall of Babylon because it cut off the source of their wealth, not because of the suffering of the inhabitants. Understandably enough, this attitude is blamed rather harshly in the sacred text. "Those who seek to become rich (πλουτεῖν) fall into temptation and a snare and into many useless and harmful desires, which plunge men into destruction and damnation. For covetousness (φιλαργυρία) is the root of all evils, and some in their eagerness to get rich have strayed from the faith and have involved themselves in many troubles" (1 Tim. 6:9-10). The rich are to be warned not to "trust in the uncertainty of riches" (1 Tim. 6:17); for "the care of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the word" (Mt. 13:22).

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[25] Mt. 20:2. For comparison it may be interesting to note that between 1909 and 1938 the annual daily wage rates of farm workers, without board, in the United States varied from a maximum of $3.03 in 1919 to a minimum of $1.11 in 1933. See, "Wages and Income of Farm Workers, 1909 to 1938," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLIX (1939), pp. 59 ff. There is some collateral evidence on wage rates at about the time of Christ. The daily wage for stone workers in a funerary project seems to have been one denarius or one drachma. See René Dussaud, "Comptes d'ouvriers d'une enterprise funéraire juive," *Syria*, IV (1923), pp. 241 ff. Hillel's wage was only one victoriatus a day (Bab. Yoma 35 b). This would be half a denarius, but Hillel was known to be unusually poor. Finally, it is worth calling attention to the generalization of Rostovtzeff (*Hellenistic World*, p. 1601) that "the average remuneration for technical service" was about a drachma a day in Hellenistic times.

It is easy to parallel these attitudes from the description of the bourgeoisie in the classics. Trimalchio and the group of cronies with whom he had surrounded himself show them very clearly. The description in the pages of Petronius is rollicking caricature, of course, but it is caricature with a basis in fact as we know from independent evidence.[26] The scene is laid in southern Italy, probably at Cumae, about the middle of the first century. Trimalchio and his friends are freedmen, typical of the new bourgeoisie. The conversation among the guests while the host is temporarily out of the room is priceless.[27] There is a somewhat reluctant admiration for Chrysanthus who just died and left "a clear hundred thousand." His spirit is frankly described: *Ab asse crevit et paratus fuit quadrantem de stercore mordicus tollere.*[28] In fact the habit of reducing everything to monetary terms runs throughout the whole work as the dominant note. A man's worth is exactly equal to the worth of his possessions. *Assem habeas, assem valeas.*[29] Nor was this over-tender regard for wealth confined to the vulgar society of the newly rich freedmen. The Emperor Vespasian, the most bourgeois of the emperors, had a profound respect for hard cash, however humble its source.[30] Juvenal and Martial, though they wrote perhaps with a too *saeva indignatio,* are valuable witnesses to the same tendency. Money is the supreme measure of human values. *Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca, tantum habet et fidei.*[31] However lacking a man may be in personal merit, all is forgiven him if he is wealthy.[32]

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[26] For parallels with the classics and inscriptions, see standard editions of the *Cena Trimalchionis* and also, Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London: Macmillan, 1919), pp. 120 ff.

[27] Petronius Arbiter, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 41-46.

[28] *Ibid.,* 43.

[29] *Ibid.,* 77.

Of course there were men of means at Rome who were quite different in character from Trimalchio and his coarse companions, men like Pliny the Younger or Seneca. But such persons did not correspond to the New Testament πλούσιοι in any way save that they had money, and it should be clear by now that the πλούσιοι of the sacred text were specifically members of the bourgeoisie, not men of means in general. The wealth of Pliny and Seneca (to take these two men as representative of their class) did not rest on the same economic basis as that of the New Testament πλούσιοι. Pliny sprang from the provincial nobility. He obtained his wealth by inheritance, not by business acumen. He managed his large estates with prudence, but every reader of his letters will realize that financial matters occupied a very minor share of his attention. His main interests were public affairs, *belles lettres,* and a very active social life. Seneca also came from a well-to-do family. If he increased his wealth enormously, this was due rather to the great political power which he wielded than to business ability. Men like Pliny and Seneca had their faults—the latter's sins were glaring enough—but they were not the characteristic faults of the bourgeoisie. Men of this class could talk of detachment from worldly goods, and their talk was not pure hypocrisy. Such men could take their hereditary wealth for granted and turn their main attention to other subjects. Their philosophic background and cultivated tastes permitted them to recognize values which could not be reduced to monetary terms.

Since money was the measure of all things to the prosperous bourgeoisie, and since this class was well provided with the goods of this world, it is easy to understand why the members of the class had an exaggerated idea of their own importance. Pride was a characteristic bourgeois sin. Here again it is easy to find parallel evidence in the New Testament and profane sources. St. James testifies to the exaggerated deference which well to do Christians received even in church (Jas. 2:1-7) and bids the πλούσιος learn humility from the transience of his condition (Jas. 1:10),[33] while St. Paul advises Timothy to "charge the rich of this world not to be proud" (1 Tim. 6:17). The pride of wealth was a commonplace among the Roman writers; Juvenal and Martial return to it again and again. Particularly galling was the relation of the rich man to his *clientes.* The latter had to suffer constant humiliations to flatter the pride of their patron.[34] Even more revealing perhaps are the inscriptions from provincial towns in which members of the local bourgeoisie speak with a naïve pride of their wealth and their benefactions. A typical example is the physician from Assisi who boasts of the amount of money he spent in various public benefactions and records the amount of his fortune.[35]

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[30] See the well-known conversation in Suetonius, *Vespasian,* 23.

[31] Juvenal, *Sat.*, III, 143-44.

[32] See, for example, Juvenal, *Sat.*, I, 24-29, Martial, *Epig.*, II, 29; V, 13.

The πλούσιος who figures with Lazarus in the parable "used to clothe himself in purple and fine linen" and "feasted every day in splendid fashion" (Lk. 16:19). The rich fool's plan of life was summed up in the words, "Take thy ease, eat, drink, be merry" (Lk. 12:19). Christ Himself pronounced a woe over the πλούσιοι, adding, "You are now having your comfort" (Lk. 6:24). This physically comfortable existence was characteristic of the bourgeois class in the first century as it always has been. Indeed the century from the Battle of Actium to the accession of Vespasian is characterized by Tacitus as the period when luxury reached its acme.[36] It is easy to exaggerate the extent of this luxury by rashly generalizing the facts recorded of a few notorious spendthrifts.[37] After all, few members of the bourgeoisie could afford to mimic the senseless extravagance of a Trimalchio. Yet it is probably true that the example of the multimillionaires had its effect on the rank and file of the πλούσιοι.

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[33] The latter passage has been variously interpreted. See the comments in Chaine, *op. cit.*

[34] The details of the institution are conveniently summarized in Ludwig Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire,* 4 vols. (New York: Dutton, 1928-36), vol. 1, pp. 195-202.

[35] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae,* 3 vols. in 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892-1916), no. 7812.

[36] Tacitus, *Ann.,* III, 55.

[37] The second volume of Friedländer, *op. cit.,* gives a full presentation of the relevant data and a critical discussion of them.

In their modest way the latter imitated the luxury of the former.

The New Testament reproves the πλούσιοι for forgetting to reckon with the unpleasant fact of death. The day before he died the rich fool was planning to enjoy life "for many years" (Lk. 12:19). St. James says, "Behold now, you who say, 'Today or tomorrow we will go into such a city, and spend a year there, and trade and make money'; you who do not know what will happen tomorrow" (Jas. 4:13-14). The same Apostle bids the πλούσιος be humble, "for he will pass away like the flower of the grass" (Jas. 1:10). This imprudent attitude which fails to take death into account would seem to be implied by the whole bourgeois manner of life as we know it from the literature of the first century. Only men who had forgotten about death, one would think, could devote themselves so completely to the pursuit of money and sense pleasure. Yet there are curious indications of a quite different current of thought in some writers of the period. Some of the bourgeoisie were very conscious of death, and this made them all the more anxious to enjoy life while they could. One example will illustrate this attitude. Trimalchio has a slave bring in a silver skeleton before his guests and remarks sententiously, *Sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet Orcus. Ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene.*[38]

Both the New Testament and the pagan literature of the period give examples of almsgiving by members of the bourgeois class, and in both cases the benefactions were sometimes of a very worthy character, sometimes less so. Joseph of Arimathea was a πλούσιος who showed not only generosity but singular courage in asking Pilate for the body of Christ and placing it in his own tomb (Mt. 27:57-60). Again, Zacchaeus, another member of the class, could declare, "I give one-half of my possessions to the poor" (Lk. 19:8). On the other hand, our Lord could compare unfavorably the ostentatious contributions of the πλούσιοι with the humble gift of the widow (Mk. 12:41-44; Lk. 21:1-4).

It is easy to find examples of pagan munificence among men of Pliny's class, Pliny himself being a fine example of intelligent generosity; but, as already stated, such men were hardly members of the bourgeoisie. More significant for our present purpose are the numerous inscriptions from widely scattered places which record the generous benefactions of individuals often otherwise unknown to history. Many at least of these obscure donors must have belonged to the bourgeoisie rather than to Pliny's class. In the inscriptions expressions such as the following are frequent: *amphitheatrum et templum Casinatibus sua pecunia fecit; ob munificentiam; cum multa et maxima in remp. saepius praestiterit; quod thermas longa incurìa neglectas sua pecunia restituerit.*[39] There must have been a very widely diffused spirit of public service among the provincial bourgeoisie. On the other hand this bourgeois munificence was not without its defects. The donors were certainly not unwilling to let their left hands know what their right hands were doing. Often they expected their gifts to be repaid in the form of municipal honors. Worst of all, the gifts of the well to do to their fellow citizens often took the form of gladiatorial shows. Certainly it was a sadly misplaced generosity which could offer the populace such revolting spectacles. To cite one example almost at random, there is something incredibly morbid about the monument at Minturnae which reminds the citizens, probably long after the event, of the gladiatorial show sponsored by the donor in question, at which eleven first-class gladiators were slaughtered before their eyes.[40]

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[38] Petronius Arbiter, *Cena Trimalchionis*, 34.

It is now time to summarize results. From the data presented it ought to be clear that the Greek word πλούσιος is not an exact synonym of the English *rich.* The essential distinction between the two words arises from the fact that they represent different points of view. The English word implies a classification of mankind on the basis of the amount of wealth possessed. The rich man is he who possesses a very considerable amount of wealth. The concept excludes not only the poor and needy, who have little or nothing, but also persons in average, or better than average, circumstances whose possessions, however, are not strikingly and outstandingly large. On the other hand, the Greek word implies a classification based on source of income. The πλούσιος is the man who supports himself by operating with his capital and is thus freed from the necessity of routine work, particularly manual work. Of course such a man would have to possess a certain amount of wealth and for this reason the Greek term overlaps in meaning with the English *rich.* Yet this overlapping is really accidental. The essential distinction, based on a difference of point of view, remains. Probably the nearest English equivalent to πλούσιος is *bourgeois;* for this, like the Greek word, implies something about the source of income rather than about the amount of wealth possessed. As a translation of πλούσιος, however, the word *bourgeois* suffers from one serious defect. It is generally understood to include the members of the professional classes, while these were excluded by the Greek term. As a matter of fact, there is no single English word which is satisfactory as a translation.

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[39] Dessau, *op. cit.*, 5628, 9192, 5784, 1909.

[40] *Ibid.*, 5062.

It is clear that the ordinary meaning of πλούσιος, as discussed in the last paragraph, is also its meaning in the New Testament. The πλούσιοι of the sacred text fit very well into the general picture of the Greco-Roman bourgeoisie as known from profane sources. In either case the sources of income are the same, commercial farming, commerce, and various financial operations. The personal and social characteristics of the members of the group are similar also in either case.

In the light of these facts the severe judgment of Christ on the πλούσιος begins to be understandable. It is not the mere physical possession of wealth which is condemned, but a certain attitude toward wealth. However, this attitude is very characteristic of a certain class, the bourgeoisie. Therefore the members of this class, aside from individual exceptions, find salvation difficult. The very nature of bourgeois life is such that it becomes extraordinarily hard not to overvalue money. The artisan may be half an artist; once he is assured a living wage he may, and often does, concentrate his attention on good workmanship. But the πλούσιος, by the very nature of his job, must deal with money as such; he can hardly help focusing his interest on profit and loss. It is hard for him not to become money-minded and fall into the habit of reducing all values to monetary terms.

The translation of Mt. 19:23, "With difficulty will a rich man enter the kingdom of heaven," is perhaps as good as translation into idiomatic English as is possible in view of the lack of a real English equivalent of πλούσιος. Yet it remains true that this rendering somewhat obscures the thought of the original. If a paraphrase were permitted, it might run something like this, "The typical member of the bourgeoisie, with his characteristic tendency to overvalue money, lacks the detachment necessary to enter the kingdom of heaven."

Due attention to the accurate meaning of πλούσιος will clear up a difficulty which bothers many persons who read the story of the Rich Young Man and similar passages. The difficulty in question is the considerable wealth of many canonized saints. Think, for example, of the many holy medieval monarchs who were certainly very wealthy according to the standards of their age and country, the emperors, St. Henry II and Blessed Charlemagne,[41] St. Louis IX, King of France, St. Edward the Confessor, King of England, St. Olav, King of Norway, St. Canute, King of Denmark, St. Eric, King of Sweden, St. Stephen and St. Ladislaus I, Kings of Hungary, St. Sigebert III and St. Dagobert II, Kings of Austrasia, St. Ferdinand II, King of Castile and Leon, and a number of others—altogether a remarkably high proportion of saints in the restricted category of monarchs. One might add the names of quite a number of canonized princes, dukes, and lesser nobles, to say nothing of prelates who lived in palaces and enjoyed the disposal of considerable revenues. How did these men attain sanctity in spite of the New Testament condemnation of the rich?

The answer, of course, is that although these saints were *rich* in the English sense, they were not πλούσιοι in the Greek sense. They had wealth, but they did not follow a manner of life which tended to concentrate their attention on money-getting. On the other hand, how few members of the bourgeoisie have attained sanctity! There was St. Homobonus, a merchant of Cremona who died in 1197. How many others have there been? Of course in comparing the two classes one must exclude both those members of the nobility and those members of the bourgeoisie who renounced the privileges of their respective classes and embraced voluntary poverty. St. Francis of Assisi sprang from the bourgeoisie, but his reaction against the manner of life characteristic of his class was as violent as possible.

The danger of misinterpreting the word *rich,* as it occurs in English versions of the New Testament, should be a warning against one serious danger already mentioned in the course of this article. While the technical dogmatic theology of the Bible may be validly studied more or less in the abstract, its social thought must be studied with due regard to the social conditions under which the sacred writers lived. Fortunately modern research has thrown a great deal of light on these conditions. The task of restudying biblical social thought in the light of this new knowledge is a real challenge to scripture scholars.

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[41] There seems to be no doubt about Charlemagne's right to this title. See Prosper Lambertini (afterwards Pope Benedict XIV), *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione,* I, ix, 4. Charlemagne is still liturgically honored at Aachen and elsewhere.

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TRACES OF THE "SAYINGS OF THE SEVEN SAGES" IN THE *LIBER ECCLESIASTICUS*

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Hellenistic influence[1] upon Judaism of the last pre-Christian centuries has been the object of considerable research in the last decades.[2] On such an influence all scholars fully agree when pointing to general and broad phases of Hellenistic influence, be it in the field of philosophy or literature. Even certain more specialized and subordinate points have been scrutinized, particularly with reference to the Jewish diaspora in Alexandria and 'Hellenized' Jews in Jerusalem. Particular care and great restraint, however, have ever been shown by research workers, when passages of biblical books were related to or identified in older Greek writings. Such specific and rather far reaching references are of necessity less numerous and controversial in nature.

The so-called Books of Wisdom have occasionally been referred back to the gnomic literature of the Greeks, but in most cases such offhand general comments cannot be regarded as substantiated by facts. The so-called *Liber Ecclesiasticus,*[3] also called the 'Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sira,' written in the first third of the second pre-Christian century[4] by the Jewish scholar Jesus Ben Sira, has likewise been suspected of showing traces of contemporary or earlier proverb collections.[5] Some scholars point to possible Greek and Alexandrian influence in this book, particularly in thought and philosophy.[6] But no successful attempt has ever been made to identify passages of the *Liber Ecclesiasticus* in the 'Sayings of the Seven Sages' which antedate the work of Jesus Ben Sira by centuries. The following article purports to point out more than an incidental or casual philological connection between a proverb collection of 14 Greek maxims,[7] ascribed to the Seven Sages of Greece, with 16 passages in the *Liber Ecclesiasticus.*[8] These sayings, found united in a Latin proverb collection of the late Middle Ages, were wrongly ascribed to Aristotle.[9] They are however, identical with the Sayings of the Greek

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[1] Biblical passages which point to Hellenistic influence are, e.g., 1 Macc. 1:12-15. Hellenistic-Jewish relations were by no means unilateral. Many scholars point to an early influence of Judaism upon Greek and its reflection upon Judaism in a transmuted or modified form at a later period. So, e.g., J. K. Gasser, "Die Bedeutung der Sprüche Jesus Ben Sira für die Datierung des althebräischen Spruchbandes," *Beiträge zur Förderung christl. Theologie* (1904), VIII, 266 ff.

[2] General literature referring hereto can be found mentioned in all Catholic, Protestant and Jewish reference works.

[3] About the canonicity of this book, cf. *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (1911), XIV 2033 ff; R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (1913), I, 298 ff.

[4] Most scholars agree on the year 170 B.C. (e.g., J. Knabenbauer, "Commentarius in Ecclesiasticum," *Cursus Scr. Sacrae. Comm. in V.T.*, 1902, IV, 2, some on the year 180 B.C. (e.g. *Dict. de Théol. Cath., op. cit.*, XIV, 2042). A. Eberharter, "Das Buch Sirach oder Ecclus.," *Die Hlg. Schrift des A.T.* (1925), VI, 4, suggests the years 187-171 B.C. and M. Buchberger, *Lex. für Theol. und Kirche* (1937), IX, 159, decides for 174-171 B.C.

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[5] In this respect says the *Cath. Encyclop.*, V, 267: "Some of them actually go so far as to admit that the writer of Ecclesiasticus may at times have collected thoughts and maxims that were already in current and popular use, may even have drawn material from collections of wise sayings no longer extant or from unpublished discourses of Sages . . ." Concerning its connection with the *Liber Proverbiorum* cf. J. Knabenbauer, *op. cit.*, p. 3. H. Gressmann, *Israels Spruchweisheit im Zusammenhang der Weltliteratur* (1925), pp. 35-36, in discussing the interrelation between the 'Spruchdichtung' of the Jews and other peoples also points to Solomon's Wisdom (third book) and the Wisdom of Amen-em-ope (c. 1000 B.C.) as identical in thought as well as wording.

[6] Among the numerous references cf. A. Gfrörer, *Philo und die Alex. Theosophie* (1831), II, 18-52, who treats chapter 24 of the Book Sirach; A. F. Dähne, *Geschichtl. Darstellung der jüdisch-alex. Relig. Phil.* (1834), I, 468 and II, 126-150; M. Friedländer, *Gr. Phil. im A.T.* (1904), 67 ff; concerning Philo cf. P. Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism of the Hellenized East* (1928), 344 ff; J. Horowitz-Charlottenburg, "Entwickl. des alex. Judentums unter dem Einflusse Philos," *Judaica, Festschrift für Hermann Cohens 70. Geburtstag* (1912), 535-567; E. C. Goodenough, *By Light, Light, the Mystic Gospel of Hell. Judaism* (1935). Concerning the *Liber Ecclesiasticus,* to combat Hellenism, cf. J. Simon, "Hellenism and the Jews in the three centuries preceding Christianity," *Amer. Cath. Quart. Review* (1920), XLV, 249. Also W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Books of the Apocrypha, their Origin, Teachings and Contents,* 1916, pp. 27-65.

[7] This collection actually contains 16 sayings, but Nos. (12) and (16) cannot be identified as maxims of the Seven Sages.

[8] Abbreviation Ecclus. The Latin passages of *Ecclus* will be quoted chapter and line from the *Vulgata Clementina* (Tornaci 1927), p. 768 ff.

[9] Cf. C. Selmer, "An Unpublished Collection of Pseudo-Aristotelian *Paroimiai,*" *Speculum* (1940), XV, 92-94. They were used as a filler in a Munich MS. of the year 1482.

Sages,[10] as they appear in the *Apophthegmata ton hepta sophon,*[11] compiled and edited by Demetrius Phalereus[12] (345-283 B.C.). The Latin proverb collection reads as follows:

> Hec sunt documenta aristotilis ad alexandrum magnum. (1) Cela secreta; (2) Loquere pauca; (3) Verax esto; (4) Ne sis velox loquendo; (5) Iram scinde; (6) Liti cede. (7) Nulli deroges; (8) A vino caue; (9) Memento mori. (10) Non te ignoto socies; (11) Non faciliter dictis credas. (12) Inimico tuo reconciliato ne des fidem. (13) De re amissa irrecuperabili non doleas. (14) Noli gaudere aduersitate proximorum; (15) Noli contendere cum potentiori te (16) Secreta tua uni electissimo, tantum cum necesse fuerit, pectus trade(*sic*).

The following comparison will try to identify the Greek proverbs in the *Liber Ecclesiasticus:*

Saying No. (1) of the Proverb Collection: *Cela secreta*[12a]=Ecclus. 27:17-24:

> [17] Qui denudat arcana amici fidem perdit, et non inveniet amicum ad animum suum. [18] Dilige proximum et conjungere fide cum illo. [19] Quod si denudaveris absconsa illius, non persequeris post eum. [20] Sicut enim homo qui perdit amicum suum, sic et qui perdit amicitiam proximi sui. [21] Et sicut qui dimittit avem de manu sua, sic dereliquisti proximum tuum, et non eum capies. [22] Non illum sequaris, quoniam longe abest; effugiet enim quasi capra de laqueo, quoniam vulnerata est anima ejus: ultra enim non poteris colligare. [23] Et maledicti est concordatio; [24] denudare autem amici mysteria, desperatio est animae infelicis.

Should one try to express the main idea of this passage in the shortened form of a maxim, or give it an appropriate heading, it would, no doubt, be: *Cela secreta amici* or *Cela secreta.*

Saying No. (2): *Loquere pauca*[13]=Ecclus. 20:5-8:

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[10] Cf. C. Selmer, "A Latin Collection of Pseudo-Aristotelian *Paroimiai* and its Relation to the Sayings of the Seven Sages," *Philological Quarterly* (1940), XIX, 328-336 (abbrev. *Phil. Qu.*). For Middle High German translations of the same proverb collection cf. C. Selmer, "Eine spätmittelhochdeutsche und lateinische pseudoaristotelische Spruchsammlung," *PMLA* (1941), LVI, 627-632.

[11] For convenience and economy the Greek correspondences of the Latin sayings will not be quoted in Greek, but in Latin from the translation of I. Conradus Orellius, "Demetrii Phalerii Septem Sapientium Apophthegmata," *Opuscula Graecorum Veterum Sententiosa et Moralia* (Leipzig 1819-21), pp. 139-146. The original Greek text can be found in Orellius, *op. cit.,* pp. 86-90; Sosiades' edition, *ibidem,* pp. 90-92. Abbrev. *Dem.*

[12] Concerning his collection of *chreiai* and *apophthegmata,* cf. Pauly, *Real-Encyl. der cl. Altertumswiss., Neue Bearb.* (1911), IV, 2835 ff.

[12a] Ascribed to Periander (cf. *Phil. Qu.,* p. 331).

[13] Attributed to Chilon, Bias, Cleobulus (cf. *Phil. Qu.,* p. 331).

[5] Est tacens qui invenitur sapiens; et est odibilis qui procax est ad loquendum. [6] Est tacens non habens sensum loquelae; et est tacens sciens tempus aptum. [7] Homo sapiens tacebit usque ad tempus; lascivus autem et imprudens non servabunt tempus. [8] Qui multis utitur verbis laedet animam suam; et qui potestatem sibi sumit injuste, odietur.

Other passages dealing with this topic can be found in Ecclus. 5:11–6:1 and 19:4-12. Summing up the thoughts expressed in these passages we arrive at the above maxim: *Loquere pauca.*

Saying No. (3): *Verax esto*[14]=Ecclus. 7:13-14:
Noli arare mendacium adversus fratrem tuum, neque in amicum similiter facias. [14] Noli velle mentiri omne mendacium; assiduitas enim illius non est bona.

A similar passage reads Ecclus. 20:20-22:

[20] Lapsus falsae linguae quasi qui in pavimento cadens; sic casus malorum festinanter veniet. [21] Homo acharis quasi fabula vana, in ore indisciplinatorum assidua erit. [22] Ex ore fatui reprobabitur parabola, non enim dicit illam in tempore suo.

Also in Ecclus. 5:11–6:1 allusions to truth can be found. The keynote of them all is: *Verax esto.*

Saying No. (4): *Ne sis velox loquendo*[15]=Ecclus. 5:11–6:1.

This passage recommends moderation in the use of words. In its many applications it could very well also relate to sayings (1)-(4). It reads as follows:

[11] Ne ventiles te in omnem ventum, et non eas in omnem viam: sic enim omnis peccator probatur in duplici lingua. [12] Esto firmus in via Domini, et in veritate sensus tui et scientia; et prosequatur te verbum pacis et justitiae. [13] Esto mansuetus ad audiendum verbum, ut intelligas, et cum sapientia proferas responsum verum. [14] Si est tibi intellectus, responde proximo; sin autem, sit manus tua super os tuum, ne capiaris in verbo indisciplinato, et confundaris. [15] Honor et gloria in sermone sensati; lingua vero imprudentis subversio est ipsius. [16] Non appelleris susurro, et lingua tua ne capiaris et confundaris: [17] super furem enim est confusio et poenitentia, et denotatio pessima super bilinguem; susurratori autem odium, et inimicitia, et contumelia. [18] Justifica pusillum, et magnum similiter. 6:1 Noli fieri pro amico inimicus proximo; improperium enim et contumeliam malus hereditabit, et omnis peccator invidus et bilinguis.

Another reference to the above maxim is found in Ecclus. 22:38–23:6 which contains the well-known prayer against the sins of the tongue: *Quis dabit ori meo custodiam* etc.

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[14] Ascribed to Solon, Pittacus, Periander (cf. *Phil. Qu.*, 331-332).

[15] Attributed to Pittacus, Bias (cf. *Phil. Qu.*, 332).

Saying No. (5): *Iram scinde*[16] and No. (6): *Liti cede*= Ecclus. 28:10-14.

[10] Abstine te a lite, et minues peccata. [11] Homo enim iracundus incendit litem et vir peccator turbabit amicos, et in medio pacem habentium immittet inimicitiam. [12] Secundum enim ligna silvae sic ignis exardescit; et secundum virtutem hominis sic iracundia illius erit, et secundum substantiam suam exaltabit iram suam. [13] Certamen festiatum incendit ignem; et lis festinans effundit sanguinem; et lingua testificans adducit mortem. [14] Si sufflaveris in scintillam, quasi ignis exardebit; et si expueris super illam, extinguetur; utraque ex ore proficiscuntur.

Saying No. (7): *Nulli deroges*[17]=Ecclus. 28:15-30.

[15] Susurro et bilinguis maledictus, multos enim turbabit pacem habentes. [16] Lingua tertia multos commovit, et dispersit illos de gente in gentem. [17] Civitates muratas divitum destruxit, et domos magnatorum effodit. [18] Virtutes populorum concidit, et gentes fortes dissolvit. [19] Lingua tertia mulieres viratas ejecit, et privavit illas laboribus suis. [20] Qui respicit illam non habebit requiem, nec habebit amicum in quo requiescat. [21] Flagelli plaga livorem facit; plaga autem linguae comminuet ossa. [22] Multi ceciderunt in ore gladii; sed non sic quasi qui interierunt per linguam suam. [23] Beatus qui tectus est a lingua nequam, qui in iracundiam illius non transivit... [28] Sepi aures tuas spinis, linguam nequam noli audire; et ori facito ostia et seras. [29] Aurum tuum et argentum tuum confla, et verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos; et attende ne forte labaris in lingua, [30] et cadas in conspectu inimicorum insidiantium tibi, et sit casus tuus insanabilis in mortem.

There is only one more passage in Ecclus. which might refer to maxim No. (7): 21:30-31, which reads as follows:

[30] Dum maledicit impius diabolum, maledicit ipse animam suam. [31] Susurro coinquinabit animam suam, et in omnibus odietur; et qui cum eo manserit odiosus erit: tacitus et sensatus honorabitur.

The preceding passage (28:15-30), however, appears more likely to be the one to which No. (7) has reference, the more so, since it immediately follows the passages corresponding to No. (5) and (6).

Saying No. (8): *A vino cave*[18]=Ecclus. 31:30-42.

[30] Diligentes in vino noli provocare; multos enim exterminavit vinum. [31] Ignis probat ferrum durum; sic enim corda superborum arguet in ebrietate potatum. [32] Aequa vita hominibus vinum in sobrietate; si bibas illud moderate, eris sobrius. [33] Quae vita est ei qui minuitur

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[16] Ascribed to Chilon, Periander (cf. *Phil. Qu.*, 332,333).

[17] A saying of Chilon (cf. *Phil. Qu.*, 333).

[18] Ascribed to Cleobulus (cf. *Phil. Qu.*, 333).

vino? [34] Qui defraudat vitam? Mors. [35] Vinum in jucunditatem creatum est, et non in ebrietatem, ab initio. [36] Exultatio animae et cordis vinum moderate potatum. [37] Sanitas est animae et corporis sobrius potus. [38] Vinum multum potatum irrationem, et iram, et ruinas multas fecit. [39] Amaritudo animae vinum multum potatum. [40] Ebrietatis animositas, imprudentis offensio, minorans virtutem, et faciens vulnera. [41] In convivio vini non arguas proximum, et non despicias eum in jucunditate illius. [42] Verba improperii non dicas illi, et non premas illum repetendo.

In view of all the ills caused by the abuse of wine, the warning *A vino cave* seems to be well chosen. The abuse of winedrinking at banquets as depicted by Ben Sira, would rather well support those theories which connect him with Hellenism and its customs.[19]

Saying No. (9): *Momento mori*[20]=Ecclus. 41:1-7.

[1] O mors, quam amara est memoria tua homini pacem habenti in substantiis suis; [2] viro quieto, et cujus viae directae sunt in omnibus, et adhuc valenti accipere cibum. [3] O Mors, bonum est judicium tuum homini indigenti, et qui minoratur viribus, [4] defecto aetate, et cui de omnibus cura est, et incredibili, qui perdit patientiam. [5] Noli metuere judicium mortis. Memento quae ante te fuerunt, et quae superventura sunt tibi: hoc iudicium a Domino omni carni. [6] Et quid superveniet tibi in beneplacito Altissimi? sive decem, sive centum, sive mille anni; [7] non est enim in inferno accusatio vitae.

Saying No. (10): *Non te ignoto socies*[21]=Ecclus. 11:31-36.

[31] Non omnem hominem inducas in domum tuam; multae enim sunt insidiae dolosi. [32] Sicut enim eructant praecordia fetentium, et sicut perdix inducitur in caveam, et ut caprea in laqueum; sicut et cor superborum, et sicut prospector videns casum proximi sui. [33] Bona enim in mala convertens insidiatur, et in electis imponet maculam. [34] A scintilla una augetur ignis, et ab uno doloso augetur sanguis; homo vero peccator sanguini insidiatur. [35] Attende tibi a pestifero, fabricat enim mala, ne forte inducat super te subsannationem in perpetuum. [36] Admitte ad te alienigenam; et subvertet te in turbine, et abalienabit te a tuis propriis.

Only in one other passage does Ecclus. caution with respect to dealings with other people, especially those of unequal rank, i.e. in 13:1-29, where he says: [20] *Omnis caro ad similem sibi conjungetur et omnis homo simili sui sociabitur.* Unless No. (10) is an interpolation, with the original reading *improbo* for *ignoto,* it cannot be correlated with a corresponding passage in the Sayings of the Seven Sages; but it is precisely the custom of introducing strangers too freely into one's house, which has made Ben Sira suspect of having come under Hellenistic influence. If in the wording of No. (10) there is no direct proof of Greek influence, there is such evidence, at least, in the thought.

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[19] Cf. *Jewish Encycl.*, XI, 390.

[20] Ascribed to Periander (cf. *Phil. Qu.*, 333). Its Latin correspondence *Sapito Mortalia* (*eod. loco*) in Sosiades' collection has a less medieval dress than *Memento mori.*

[21] Attributed to Solon (cf. *Phil. Qu.*, 334).

Saying No. (11): *Non faciliter dictis credas*[22]=Ecclus. 19:4. Qui credit cito levis corde est, et minorabitur; et qui delinquit in animam suam, insuper habebitur.

Again Ecclus. 19:16-17; [16] et non omni verbo credas. Est qui labitur lingua sua, sed non ex animo: [17] quis est enim qui non deliquerit in lingua sua?

Saying No. (12): *Inimico reconciliato ne des fidem*[23]= Ecclus. 12:8-19.

[8] Non agnoscetur in bonis amicus, et non abscondetur in malis inimicus. [9] In bonis viri, inimici illius in tristitia; et in malitia illius, amicus agnitus est. [10] Non credas inimico tuo in aeternum; sicut enim aeramentum aeruginat nequitia illius; [11] et si humiliatus vadat curvus, adjice animum tuum, et custodi te ab illo . . . [15] In labiis suis indulcat inimicus, et in corde suo insidiatur ut subvertat te in foveam. [16] In oculis suis lacrymatur inimicus, et si invenerit tempus, non satiabitur sanguine. [17] Et si incurrerint tibi mala, invenies eum illic priorem. [18] In oculis suis lacrymatur inimicus, et quasi adjuvans suffodiet plantas tuas. [19] Caput suum movebit, et plaudet manu, et multa susurrans commutabit vultum suum.

Saying No. (13): *De re amissa irrecuperabili ne doleas*[24]= Ecclus. 38:20-24.

[20] In abductione permanet tristitia, et substantia inopis secundum cor ejus. [21] Ne dederis in tristitia cor tuum, sed repelle eam a te, et memento novissimorum. [22] Noli oblivisci, neque enim est conversio; et huic nihil proderis, et te ipsum pessimabis. [23] Memor esto judicii mei; sic enim erit et tuum: Mihi heri et tibi hodie. [24] In requie mortui requiescere fac memoriam ejus et consolare illum in exitu spiritus sui.

There is another passage in Ecclus which admonishes to flee sadness, Ecclus. 30:22-27:

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[22] Ascribed to Thales (cf. *Ph. Qu.* 334). In another edition ("Dicta Septem Sapientium," Orellius, *op. cit.*, p. 297) it is attributed to Pittacus (*Non omnibus crede*).

[23] This saying has to this day always been attributed to Publilius Syrus and is found among his sayings (cf. O. Friedrich, *Publilii Syri Mimi Sententiae* (Berlin 1880), p. 51. In view of the clear evidence of Ben Sira's authorship, we must now attribute it to the latter (cf. *Phil. Qu.* 334).

[24] A saying of Periander (cf. *Phil. Qu.*, 335).

[22] Tristitiam non des animae tuae, et non affligas temetipsum in consilio tuo. [23] Jucunditas cordis haec est vita hominis, et thesaurus sine defectione sanctitas; et exultatio viri est longaevitas. [24] Miserere animae tuae placens Deo, et contine; congrega cor tuum in sanctitate ejus, et tristitiam longe repelle a te. [25] Multos enim occidit tristitia, et non est utilitas in illa. [26] Zelus et iracundia minuunt dies, et ante tempus senectam adducet cogitatus. [27] Splendidum cor et bonum in epulis est; epulae enim illius diligenter fiunt.

Saying No. (14): *Noli gaudere adversitate proximorum*[25]=Ecclus. 8:7-8.

[7] Ne spernas hominem in sua senectute, etenim ex nobis senescunt. [8] Noli de mortuo inimico tuo gaudere; sciens quoniam omnes morimur, et in gaudium nolumus venire.

Although the wording does not justify a full correspondence, there is, no doubt, a clear thought connection between No. (14) and Ecclus, because *Mors* and *Senectus* must be considered an *Adversitas*. Moreover, the corresponding passages for maxims No. (14) and (15) precede or follow Ecclus. 8:7-9; this, too, tends to make the correspondence more probable.

Saying No. 15: *Noli contendere cum potentiore te*[26]=Ecclus. 8:1-4.

[1] Non litiges cum homine potente, ne forte incidas in manus illius. [2] Non contendas cum viro locuplete, ne forte contra te constituat litem tibi; [3] multos enim perdidit aurum et argentum, et usque ad cor regum extendit et convertit. [4] Non litiges cum homine linguato, et non strues in ignem illius ligna . . . [17] Non judices contra judicem . . . [18] Cum audace non eas in via . . . [19] Cum iracundo non facias rixam, et cum audace non eas in desertum; quoniam quasi nihil est ante illum sanguis, et ubi non est adjutorium, elidet te.

The dangers of competing with one, who is superior, are clearly pointed out in the above verses of chapter 8.

Saying No. (16): *Secreta tua uni electissimo, tantum cum necesse fuerit, pectus trade* (*sic*)=Ecclus. 8:20-22.

[20] Cum fatuis consilium non habeas; non enim poterunt diligere nisi quae eis placent. [21] Coram extraneo ne facias consilium; nescis enim quid pariet. [22] Non omni homini cor tuum manifestes, ne forte inferat tibi gratiam falsam, et convicietur tibi.

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[25] Ascribed to Pittacus, Cleobulus (cf. *Phil. Qu.*, 335). An Arabic proverb, *Ne gaude, cum ceciderit inimicus tuus*, attributed to Drusius Aldernardensis (Orellius, *op. cit.*, "Arabum Vet. Sent. Morales," p. 499) comes close to Ecclus.

[26] Ascribed to Periander (cf. *Phil. Qu.* 335).

Another passage in Ecclus. 6:6 reads as follows: *Multi pacifici sint tibi; et consiliarius sit tibi unus de mille.* This saying is probably the source for the following maxim, ascribed to Ben Sira in the Orellius collection: *Arcanum tuum uni ex mille, etiamsi plurimos habeas benevolentes, patefacito.*[27] No doubt, allowance must be made for a change in phraseology through repeated translations and revisions up to the Middle Ages.

From the preceding comparison the following facts become evident: a. The sayings of the Seven Sages, contained in the Latin proverb-collection, find their counterparts in the *Liber Ecclesiasticus.* Each of the sayings corresponds to one, sometimes to more passages in Ecclus. The correctness of this observation is confirmed by the fact that the numerical sequence, in which the maxims follow each other, partly reappears in the corresponding passages of the *Liber Ecclesiasticus.* It is apparent that sayings (5), (6) and (7) occur in order in a single chapter of Ecclus. (28:10-30). Moreover, Nos. (14), (15) and (16) are derived from the same chapter and belong to the same group (8:1-22). Even maxims No. (1), (2), (3) and (4) could possibly be based on the same chapter (5:11–6:1), as mentioned with respect to No. (4) of the proverb collection.

b. The relation between each maxim and its corresponding passage in Ecclus. is such that each can be regarded as a pithy restatement of the corresponding passage in Ecclus., reflecting the predominant thoughts. The saying, of course in its Greek dress, formed the basis for the corresponding lengthy comments in Ben Sira.

The above philological deduction, which clearly suggests a Greek source for the above passages of the *Liber Ecclesiasticus,* finds its historical confirmation in facts relating to the author's life and times. When Ben Sira wrote his book, Judaism, especially that of the Egyptian diaspora, was strongly under Hellenistic influence.[28] We know little enough about Ben Sira's life, but sufficient to make it not improbable that he had contact with Hellenistic elements. Many of the customs described in his book

[27] Cf. *Phil. Qu.*, p. 335.

[28] The apocryphas, Solomon's Wisdom, The Ecclesiastes and other related writings have repeatedly been suspected of containing Hellenistic influence. Cf. *Jewish Encycl.*, VI, 335 ff.; also *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1941), I, 423.

are taken from Greek rather than Hebrew society,[29] and some of the ideas expounded in Ecclus. are found proper to and characteristic of Greek moralists and tragedians.[30] His extensive travels (Ecclus. 34:9-13) afforded an easy opportunity for acquaintance with Hellenistic culture outside of Palestine. In his days it was chiefly through Alexandria that Judaism and Hellenism[31] came together. There Aristobulus[32] pointed out the relation between the Old Testament and Greek philosophy; there Greek literature, Homer, Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics were taught in Jewish schools;[33] there the Torah was translated from Hebrew into Greek and Greek was the language chiefly used in the service. It was Alexandria that possessed the world's most famous library,[34] built by Ptolemy Lagus at the suggestion of Demetrius of Phaleron (c. 345-283), the very Demetrius, who compiled the Sayings of the Seven Sages, quoted in the preceding pages.[35] His proverb collection was until the time of Diogenes Laertius the only written edition of these sayings. It is more than probable that this Greek collection of apothegms, the literary product of the co-founder of the library, should have occupied a place of honor in the Alexandrian library and was accessible to scholars from which to make extracts. But Jerusalem itself could have afforded Ben Sira sufficient contact with Greek literature, in case his Alexandrian sojourn should be subjected to doubt. In fact, there was a continual lively literary interchange[36] between Alexandria and Jerusalem, and Jews, 'hellenistically' inclined, i.e., Alexandrian Jews, are known to have taken up permanent residence in Jerusalem, where they formed a separate community and had a synagogue of their own.[37] It really matters little whether Ben Sira came upon the Sayings of the Seven Sages, directly or indirectly,[38] in Alexandria or Jerusalem.[39] It was their ethical content which doubtless appealed to him, either because they were in keeping with his own philosophy or because they opened up a new viewpoint which he found worthy of attention. Not one of all his sayings, be it noted, but is in full accord with the ethical precepts of Judaism as well as Christianity. Inspite of this apparent Greek influence upon his work, he remained what he regarded[40] himself in his writings: an inspired teacher of Israel.

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[29] Cf. *Jewish Encycl.*, XI, 390 ff.

[30] As pointed out in *Jewish Encycl.*, XI, 390.

[31] The Greek background is aptly depicted in A. Nairne, *The Alexandrine Gospel* (*Sirach, Wisdom, Philo, the Epistle to the Hebrews*), London 1917, pp. 11-17.

[32] Cf. *Jewish Encycl.*, VI, 340.

[33] Cf. *Jewish Encycl.*, I, 365; *ibid.*, p. 371, about a Hellenic Midrash.

[34] Between 288 and 240 B.C. it contained 532,000 MSS (cf. A. Holm, *The History of Greece*, 1898, IV, 307). At Demetrius' time it is estimated to have counted c. 200,000 MSS.

[35] About Demetrius' literary works, called *Chreiai* and the *Apophthegmata*, cf. Pauly, *op. cit.*, IV, 2835. Concerning the importance of the *Apophthegmata* and their importance for the subsequent centuries, *ibid.*, p. 2835.

[36] "Travelling teachers and students would effect a lively interchange of Palestinian and Hellenic views on exegesis," *Jewish Encycl.*, I, 371.

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[37] On the Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem and its repercussions in lit., cf. A. Eberharter, *op. cit.*, p. 4-5. The date of the erection of the first Alex. synagogue, however, cannot be ascertained.

[38] Any indirect influence of Greek maxims, possibly reflected through other written sources used by Ben Sira, must necessarily be of highly hypothetical value, as long as we lack any knowledge of such sources.

[39] Greek influence on Ecclus. would also not be excluded by the suggestion (*Cath. Encycl.*, V, 267) that Sira's grandson, who translated Ecclus. into Greek c. 132 B.C., had contributed something of his own. He, too, sojourned in Egypt for some time (Cf. Prologus in Ecclus.: *Nam postquam perveni in Aegyptum etc.*"

[40] As indicated in Ecclus. 24: 30-34 and 33: 10-18.

PAN-SUMERIANISM AND THE VEIL MOTIF[1]

REV. GEORGE T. WOLZ, S.T.L.

The late Dr. Alfred Jeremias' Pan-Sumerianism, offspring of an earlier Pan-Babylonianism, attempts to join into a uniform, coherent "Weltanschauung" the scattered elements of Sumerian material and spiritual culture that are revealed to us in the monuments and cuneiform documents. At the same time, it tries to offer the key for the correct understanding, not only of Sumero-Accadian literature, but of all myths, legends and ancient historical records, including—and especially including—the Sacred Scriptures.

Pan-Sumerianism declares that this world-view was Gnostic in character.[2] At its basis lay the idea of a prefigured harmony between the Above and the Below, between the Heavens and the Earth. Terrestrial events were but the mirror pictures of celestial happenings, their reflections *in parvo*, so to speak. To the succession of day and night, of summer and winter, there corresponded a world year that was made up of a cosmic spring and a cosmic winter, a "Segenszeit" and a "Fluchzeit." The material cosmos itself was looked upon by the initiate as the condensation (Verdichtung) of divinity which had poured out of the Abyss of all Being and become ever more material as it receded from its Source. At the point of the cycle most distant from the Abyss, antipolar forces make themselves felt, and these try to keep the cosmic wave from returning to its origin. In consequence of this inner struggle, the cosmos stands in need of "redemption." The work of liberation is accomplished by emanations which proceed out of the Abyss and descend to the world that is shackled in matter, in condensed spirit. They conquer the antipolar forces and lead the world back to the Abyss from which it sprang. But no redemption is final; once returned, the wave again begins its course, again becomes the scene of a cosmic struggle and is again redeemed, and so on and on, in never-ending aeonic cycles.[3]

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[1] Abbreviations most commonly used:

AE—Jeremias, A.; *Die ausserbiblische Erloeser-Erwartung;* Sannerz & Leipzig, 1927.

AO—Series of studies entitled *Der Alte Orient*, Leipzig.

AOTB—Gressmann, H.; *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum alten Testament;* Vol. I, Texte; Vol. II, Bilder; Berlin & Leipzig; 1926–1927. (Unless reference is to figures. the first volume is meant)

ATAO—Jeremias, A.; *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients;* Leipzig; 1930 (4th ed.).

BE—Jeremias, A.; *Die biblische Erloeser-Erwartung;* Berlin; 1931.

HAOG—Jeremias, A.; *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur;* Berlin & Leipzig; 1929 (2d ed.).

Schleier—Jeremias, A.; *Der Schleier von Sumer bis heute* (*AO* 31, 1/2); Leipzig, 1931.

[2] See *HAOG* passim, and brief summaries by Jeremias in "Die Weltanschauung der Sumerer" (*AO* 27, 4) Leipzig, 1929 and "Der Kosmos von Sumer" (*AO* 32, 1) Leipzig, 1932, esp. p. 9. For the older Pan-Babylonianism see esp. Winckler, Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier als Grundlage der Weltanschauung und Mythologie aller Voelker" (*AO* 3, 2/3), Leipzig, 1903. The antecedents of the system and its place in the comparative history of religion are given in Schmidt, W.; *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Vol. I, Muenster, 1926 (2d ed.) pp. 55 sqq.

Out of this theory grew the Myth. The raw materials from which this Myth was formed were again supplied by observation of celestial events. The heavens were a kind of picture-book on which the priests of Sumeria saw projected the course of the cosmos; that course was described and as it were personalized in terms of gods and demons, of birth and combat, of death and resurrection,[4] and in the process the myth was born. The elements which made it up were a number of motifs, i.e. standardized episodes and significant words and phrases that remained fundamentally the same under all variation in detail.

So it happened that the originally sexless Abyss became first a bisexual, then a virgin "Urmutter" who stands revealed in the many Mother Goddesses of the Sumerian pantheon.[5] The redeemer Logoi who emanated from the Abyss found their mythic expression either in the fighting and conquering gods typified by the Babylonian Marduk, or in the dying gods whose best known representative is Tammuz. Mother Goddess and Redeemer God were thus the central characters of the myth, whose motif-series ran as follows:[6]

1. The Redeemer God is born in mysterious fashion—often by a virgin birth, sometimes of a kedesha or ritual prostitute,

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[3] For the "Weltzeitalterlehre" cf. Kosmos, 16 sqq.; *AE* 14 sqq., 71, 92, 214; *HAOG* 44, 117 sqq. and esp. chapters VII and XII.

[4] *HAOG* 47; "Die grösste Schöpfung der Philosophia orientalis ist der Mythos, der die himmlischen Vorgänge versinnbildlichte und der Theologie in seinen Motiven die Dogmen gab."

[5] *HAOG* 333 sqq.; *AE* 18 sq.

[6] Marduk type—*AE* 49 sqq.; *HAOG* 240 sqq., 315 sqq. Tammuz type—*AE* 34, see also 23 sqq. esp. 27, 29 sqq.; *HAOG* 314 sq.

of an unfruitful mother, of poor or of unknown parents. So Tammuz was born under the holy cedar, while in the first tablet of the Enuma Elish, Marduk is greeted by the gods as the divine wonder-child.

2. Even in infancy, the Redeemer Child is attacked by hostile powers: Tammuz is hidden in the chest (or in the grain) to safeguard him from persecution, while Marduk must perform feats similar to those of the infant Hercules.

3. The Redeemer God engages in a gigantomachy, a tremendous battle with the powers of evil. Tammuz suffers, dies, and descends into the Underworld. Marduk—at least on the evidence of a text pertaining to the Babylonian Akitu festival—does the same, but the Enuma Elish shows him also as the conqueror of Tiamat, the orderer of the chaotic world, the redeemer of gods and men—the god who fights and conquers.

4. The Redeemer God is exalted. The Mother Goddess herself redeems Tammuz by bringing about his release from the Underworld, while Marduk hears the gods, his fathers, chant his praises.

5. Mother Goddess and Redeemer God celebrate the *ἱερὸς γάμος*, the sacred marriage, as the world spring dawns.

This motif-series was completed by the 8th century B.C., but in its essentials it goes back to the fourth millenium of ancient Sumeria. The motifs in time broke through the limits of the myth and made their way into epics, legends, and fairy tales. Indeed, even games and sport have not escaped their all-powerful influence; the "chess" boards found in the so-called royal tombs of Ur, the European dance around the May pole, the kites flown by boys in spring and autumn, the games of "hop-scotch" and "ring-around-the-rosy"—every one is impregnated with cosmic significance.[7]

But most important, all Oriental historical writing is steeped in the motifs of the Myth. When they appear as saviors of the nation in their annals and in the hymns written in their praise, the kings of Sumeria, Babylonia and Assyria see themselves coming "when the time is at hand and the days accomplished,"[8] they describe themselves as mysteriously born sons of the Mother

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[7] *AE* 64 sqq., 351, 357 sqq.; *HAOG* 140, 321 sqq., 436, 441 sqq.

[8] This point of time is always preceded by a "Fluchzeit"; political, social, and religious conditions are at their lowest ebb; the country needs to be "redeemed."

Goddess, subject to persecution in infancy, and chosen by the gods to conquer the country's enemies. The actual combats are described in the style of the dragon-fight; and at times the royal heroes suffer, descend into the Underworld, and rise again in glory to a "Segenszeit," a rule of definite prosperity.[9]

From the Land of the Two Rivers this "Weltanschauung" and its attendant myth spread over the entire world,[10] but it found its most congenial and fruitful abode among the sons of Israel. The mediator in this case was the patriarch Abraham, who was a Sumerian in his spiritual outlook.[11] Israel, it is true, through its experience of a transcendent, holy, personal God, recreated and reanimated the Sumerian doctrine,[12] leading it through a higher prophetic stage until it found its historical fulfillment in Christ.[13] Yet the beginning of biblical religion with Abraham was nothing absolute, it was only a reformation of what Sumeria had discovered centuries before.

Fundamentally, it was the Sumerian redeemer who was announced by the Hebrew prophets, and the symbolic language in which they couched their announcement was that of the Sumerian myth.[14] And yet more. In the Sacred Scriptures, no less than anywhere else in the ancient East, history itself was at the same time prophecy, and the style in which it was written is prophetico-eschatological.[15] In his choice of subject-matter, the biblical historian was not governed by Occidental rules of what, in the judgment of secular history, is important and what is not. Past and present were worthy of record only in so far as they were the shadows that future events threw behind them. The general course of the world's history was determined for the hagiographer by the redeemer myth which taught him to see that course as alternating periods of prosperity and misfortune, as the flow of "Segenszeit" and "Fluchzeit." True to the Sumerian axiom which beheld the macrocosmos reflected in the microcosmos and the whole in every one of its parts, the biblical historian saw in every sequence of events which lead through a particular "Fluchzeit" to a particular "Segenszeit" a type and a token of the great and (relatively) final transit through chaos to a new and redeemed world. Therefore the hero who stood in the center of a particular turn from "Fluchzeit" to "Segenszeit" was looked upon as the type of the coming redeemer, and for the purpose of marking him as such a type, he was decked out in the symbols and motifs of the redeemer myth. Here is to be found the explanation for the legendary material woven into the histories of the patriarchs and of the kings—for all of them were redeemers in a dynamic, prophetic, typical sense.

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[9] *AE* 71 sqq.; *HAOG* 44, 317, 359.

[10] This aspect of the theory was developed especially by Stucken, *Astralmythen der Hebraeer, Babylonier und Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1896–1907.

[11] *ATAO* 293 sq.

[12] *ATAO* 59.

[13] *BE* 17.

[14] *BE* 16 sqq.; *ATAO* 11 sqq.

[15] *ATAO* 4 sqq.

This is not to say that all biblical history is merely a product of the imagination with no basis in fact. History must not be dissolved into myth; the exegete must rather search out the mythical style in biblical history. At times, it is true, the style connects the hero with completely unhistorical events, but this occurs most often where his birth and death are concerned, for here genuinely historical information is generally lacking. But usually the biblical historian takes historical materials and pours them into the mould of the myth's motifs and symbols, thus giving them "metaphysical contours" and making them indicative of what is to be.

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Such, then, in brief compass, is the Pan-Sumerian hypothesis elaborated and defended with great brilliance and learning by Dr. Alfred Jeremias in a long series of publications. Today, it is true, an impression seems to be current in biblical circles that the system is dead and its influence a thing of the past. Certainly, it has been attacked by a long series of historians, assyriologists, ethnologists, Scripture scholars and students of folk-lore.[16] And yet the fact that there was enough interest in the two chief works explaining the system to call for a second edition of

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[16] Note that the criticisms of twenty and thirty years ago were concerned chiefly with Pan-Babylonianism, a form that differs in some important respects from the Pan-Sumerianism described in the latest editions of *HAOG* and *ATAO*, to say nothing of *BE* and *AE*. Some of these criticisms were just as unilateral and fantastic as the system they criticized; compare the Pan-Amorite hypothesis which Dr. Albert T. Clay tried to substitute for Pan-Babylonianism, see his *Amurru, The Home of the Northern Semites*, Philadelphia, 1909; *The Origin of Biblical Traditions* (*YOSR* XII), New Haven, 1923.

HAOG in 1929 and a fourth of *ATAO* in 1930 may suggest that the reports of its demise are somewhat exaggerated. Books and articles still appear in which the influence of Jeremias' speculation is unmistakable,[17] so the critical study of Pan-Sumerianism may still be of some interest and value.

We have here chosen for examination only one of the motifs which Jeremias claims to find in Sumeria and the Sacred Scriptures—the Veil Motif. We do not believe that this is an unjust picking and choosing of one point in which the system is weakest. The veil motif has been a favorite of the theory even in its Pan-Babylonian days,[18] and Jeremias himself has devoted a monograph of seventy pages to it.[19] Furthermore, in his foreword to this latter work, the author declares that it should serve as a pattern for the eventual compilation of an Encyclopedia of Symbolism.[20] We are therefore justified in saying of this motif, *ab uno disce omnes.* This does not say that, should the thesis of *Schleier* prove to be little more than unfounded speculation, every detail of Pan-Sumerianism would be shown to be wrong,[21] but weakness in this "Schulbeispiel" must at least raise doubts about the validity of much of the rest of the hypothesis.

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[17] Cf., *inter alia,* the following: Staerk, W.; *Soter, Die biblische Erlösererwartung als religionsgeschichtliches Problem,* Guetersloh, 1933; id., *Die Erlösererwartung in den östlichen Religionen,* Stuttgart & Berlin, 1938: Hooke, S. H. (ed.); *Myth and Ritual.* Oxford, 1933: Staples, W. E.; "The Book of Ruth" (in *AJSL* 53 /1937/ 145-157); *id.,* "Cultic Motifs in Hebrew Thought" (in *AJSL* 55 /1938/ 44-55). It is interesting to note that the novelist Thomas Mann owes a not inconsiderable debt of gratitude to Pan-Sumerianism for the background and outline of his soon to be completed Joseph trilogy.

[18] See the references by R. P. de Vaux in *RB* 44 (1935) 409. In the third edition of Benziger's *Hebräische Archäologie,* Leipzig, 1927, the material is on pp. 77 n. 3 and 85. Dr. Stanley A. Cook accepts the veil symbolism in *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archeology* (Schweich Lectures, 1925), London, 1930, p. 126. Even so solid a work as Driver & Miles, *The Assyrian Law,* Oxford, 1935, declares that the veil "is sometimes found as the emblem of Ishtar" (p. 134).

[19] *Schleier* (cf. note 1)

[20] *Schleier* 6.

[21] The merits of the Pan-Babylonian school must not be forgotten: it was a reaction against the "Stubenphilologen" of the Wellhausen stamp, it strove to get at the "Sitz im Leben" of Old Testament literature, it protested against excessive "psychologizing" in the history of religion and called for a historical approach to this subject (but cf. Schmidt, *loc. cit.* in note 2 supra, see also his chapter on Astral Mythology and Pan-Babylonianism in *The Origin and Growth of Religion,* London, 1930.

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In *Schleier* as well as in the pertinent passages of *HAOG* and *ATAO*,[22] the veil is declared to be the symbol of the cosmos, the living vestment of the deity. In addition, it is also associated with partial aspects of the cosmos, so, v.g., with the starry sky, the moon and its phases, the periodic appearance and disappearance of vegetation. Behind all these associations stands the fact that veiling and unveiling symbolize the critical points of the aeonic Life-Death mystery; unveiling means life and knowledge to the initiate, but death to the uninitiate. At the same time, the veil also possesses a "Gegensinn," a counter-sense, whereby its significance may be exactly reversed, so that unveiling would bring death even to the initiate. In the mythic form of the doctrine, the veil belongs primarily to the "Urmutter," the Mother Goddess, to Ishtar or to one of her numerous counterparts in the pantheon. It is her symbol and perquisite; she is at once weaver and wearer of the veil. But because of his connection with Ishtar, the veil is a perquisite of Tammuz too; he likewise takes part in the Life-Death mystery, he descends into the Underworld (unveiling), is set free and ascends into the heavens (veiling). Like the other motifs of the myth, that of the veil has also entered into the service of written history; in the prophetico-eschatological style that was outlined above, women are veiled and unveil themselves when it was the historian's intention to picture them as types of Ishtar, and the same holds true for men when they are to be seen as types of Tammuz. Finally, in the legends the veil appears "under a thousand forms"—as zodiacal belt or girdle, as turban, or as Tarnhelm.

So far Dr. Jeremias. The reader will note at once the wide tolerance of this motif. Cosmically, it can be found in every change this earth knows, in every change that can even remotely be brought into relationship with the Life-Death cycle. We are asked to believe that even the wilting of vegetation in late summer was mystically seen by the ancient Sumerians as an unveiling. Applied to history, the frame which limits the application of the motif is vaguer still. Veiling and unveiling would seem to imply a face veil. But a face veil is not enough for the theory. The face veil first becomes any kind of head-dress, from the innocuous turban to the magic Tarnhelm; then, through the medium of a "veil-like garment"[23] it grows into a "veil-garment,"[24] and in the end this too is transformed into any kind of garment one wishes, without regard to shape or purpose.[25] And it makes no difference whether god or goddess, man or woman is wrapped in the all-inclusive folds of this motif; what began as a veil motif for Ishtar develops very handily into a garment motif for Tammuz. Yet even at this point the train of Pan-Sumerian speculation has hardly begun to run its course. Everything said so far, it must be remembered, enjoys its "Gegensinn" too—by means of this *deus ex machina* the motif can be reversed at will and the way is left open for escape from difficulties that may prove embarrassing. In short, the finding of "metaphysical contours" in any given historical account is rendered ridiculously easy, since any person, man or woman, becomes a Tammuz or an Ishtar figure when the system has need of one, by the simple expedient that he or she wears clothes, or does not wear them. And to cap the climax, the veil motif does not require a garment (or its absence) at all, for it is said to underlie the wrapping up a sword in a cloth,[26] and the dimming of a man's eyes in old age.[27]

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[22] *Schleier* 7-10; *HAOG*, Index *s.v.* Schleier; *ATAO*, Motivregister 804 sq. *s.v.* Schleier.

Now we cannot know directly the mental processes of the ancient Sumerian priests, the alleged inventors of the myth, but surely we must credit them with enough intelligence to see that a motif which says too much says really nothing at all.[28]

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[23] "Schleierartiges Gewand," see *ATAO* 371 n. 3.

[24] "Schleiergewand," cf. Schleier passim.

[25] Cf. *Schleier* passim.

[26] *ATAO* 758 *s.v.* לוט.

[27] *ATAO* 352 n. 2; cf. also 757 *s.v.* כסה.

[28] A glance over the Motif Lists in *ATAO* 745-829 will show how easy it is to find a mystic background in any narrative if one wants to find it. Take for example the Southland=Underworld motif; it is claimed that a journey to the South stamps the traveller as a Tammuz (or Ishtar) figure descending into the Underworld. But by the time Pan-Sumerianism finishes with the motif, there is no direction in which the weary traveller can turn without making a Tammuz of himself, or an Ishtar of herself. Due to the influence of Babylon, whose god Marduk was associated with the morning and spring sun, there existed a system of orientation which looked to the East as the chief direction. In this case NORTH lay at one's left, or Underworld, side (*ATAO* 635 and nn. 2 sq. See also 182, 794 *s.v.* Links

But to return to our author. In brief, the essence of the veil motif may be summed up in the following points:

1. The veil is significant of the role Ishtar plays in the Life-Death mystery, in the redeemer myth. It marks her as "Urmutter," the mother of the redeemer child.
2. It is the symbol and perquisite of Ishtar (and therefore of Tammuz).
3. It is cosmic in significance.

In support of these statements, Jeremias offers the following evidences from the Sumero-Babylonian culture area, and from adjacent Tell Halaf:[29]

A. LITERARY SOURCES

1. On the Fourth Tablet of the Enuma Elish, we have a scene wherein Marduk, in proof of his power of destroying and creating, destroys a garment by his mere word of command, and then by the same means restores it intact. Now the garment in question is evidently a shadowy epic reminiscence (die im Epos verblasste Vorstellung) of the cosmic world-mantle.

2. In the Gilgamesh Epic, the hero comes to the sea in his search for immortality, and meets here the nymph Siduri. In the Assyrian recension of the poem, the goddess is described as *kutummi kuttumatma,* i.e. covered with a covering, therefore veiled.[30] But an ancient Babylonian form of the same epic presupposes that she takes off this veil before Gilgamesh, since the latter thus addresses her; "Now I have seen your countenance;

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ist Norden und cf. with 801 *s.v.* Rechts). But the EAST can also put on a baneful character; South is the chief direction in astrology, and a text which is said to reflect the purer doctrine of the Sumerian creative period directs the observer to take his position with the West on his right, *the East on his left,* and the South before him (*HAOG* 147; see also *ATAO* 79 sq., 762 *s.v.* קדם). Finally still another system of orientation made the North the chief direction, and this placed the WEST on the Underworld side, cf. *ATAO* 794 *s.v.* Links ist Norden; ("Links als Westseite Unterweltseite"). Hence in every direction lay the Underworld—*or its opposite,* since every motif lay the Underworld—*or its opposite,* since every motif has its "Gegensinn" or countersense too. Thus does the myth set up a sign post with its four arms stretching out to the four points of the compass, and on each arm is painted not only the same direction, but the opposite of that direction!?

[29] *Schleier* 11-14; 17-22.

[30] Tab. X, 4; cf. *AOTB* 170. (In this paper we shall omit diacritical indications of the emphatic consonants).

the death which I fear, may it not come upon me."[31] This is to be understood in terms of the Life-Death mystery: because he is an initiate,[32] Gilgamesh hopes that the sight of the goddess unveiled will assist him in his search for lasting life. The fact that the epic speaks of Siduri offers no difficulty, for an incantation text proves that this goddess is none other than Ishtar herself.[33]

3. The Myth of Ishtar's Descent into the Underworld (clearly connected with the Life-Death mystery) tells how, at each of the seven gates of the infernal city, the watchman despoils the goddess of an ornament or an article of clothing, until at last he takes from her "das Schamgewand (Schleiergewand) des Leibes."[34]

B. GLYPTIC EVIDENCE

1. The most important is the veiled sphinx of Tell Halaf.[35] According to Baron von Oppenheim, its finder, this unique piece of statuary represents the goddess Hepa or Hepet,[36] who is, of course, the Hurrian Ishtar. On a lion's body is set a woman's head which is adorned with a veil, transparent enough for the features to be seen and covering the face from the forehead down.[37] The goddess so pictured is brought into relationship with the cosmic mystery by means of the scenes carved below the lion body. In one of these a hero is battling a winged lion or griffin, and in the other a four-winged man is about to stab a rampant lion. Both pictures depict the cosmic gigantomachy.

2. That the veil on the sphinx is not something unique in this culture area is attested by the Neolithic (?) figurines found at Tell Halaf. In strata that contain the distinctive pottery of this site, v. Oppenheim turned up several steatopygous terracotta female statuettes of crude, prehistoric workmanship.[38] On their heads, which are mere extensions of the neck pinched into the

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[31] *AOTB* 194 (Col. II, 12 sq.); the text is the one published by Meissner in *MVAG* 7 (1902), 1 sqq.

[32] Cf. *Schleier* 8 and esp. 15.

[33] Jeremias is here probably speaking of Shurpu II, 172: (il) Shi-du-ri ... (il) Ishtar ni-me-ki: Shiduri ... the "Ishtar" of wisdom.

[34] On the woman's veil in Assyria which Jeremias discusses in *Schleier* 14, cf. *infra.*

[35] *HAOG* 338; *Schleier* 17 sqq.

[36] v. Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf,* Leipzig, 1931, pp. 102, 154.

[37] *Op. cit.* 97 sqq.

[38] *Op. cit.* 187.

familiar "bird-beak," there are still visible traces of two colored lines,[39] one drawn above the eyes, the other around the chin. These are taken to be indications of a face veil.[40]

3. Finally, there is the witness of the "Syro-Hittite" seals.[41] On some of these appears a nude goddess who seems to be holding up a wreath of some sort. This is really the edge of a veil; since the artist's limited capabilities prevented him from drawing the draperies in their entirety, he indicated them merely by their hem.

So runs the documentation tendered us from the ancient Near East.[42] On first sight, it can hardly be called overwhelmingly convincing. Surely one can expect that the great body of Sumero-Babylonian literature, sprung from the same soil which allegedly produced the redeemer myth and its motifs, should supply examples of a cosmic Ishtar veil in plenty, considering the frequency with which this motif is supposed to occur in the relatively small compass of the Sacred Scriptures.[43] Nor it it reassuring to note that the only pictorial data come from Hurrian and Syrian sources; granted that these could have been subjected to Sumerian influence, examples from the Sumerian home-land of the myth would have been more persuasive. And our scepticism can only grow when we turn to a detailed examination of the evidence.

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[39] These lines are broken at the back.

[40] So too by v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.* 99.

[41] For this type cf. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910, fig. 912 sqq.

[42] In his translation of the Lament over Lillu (=Tammuz) given in *HAOG* 481 and *AE* 25, Jeremias tentatively suggests a veil in rev. 26, but Ebeling in *AOTB* 273 makes of this object nothing more mystic than a cover spread over a chair. A cover of this kind *may* be illustrated on certain cylinder seals; cf. the references under "Throne" in Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals* (*UPBS XIV*), Philadelphia, 1925, p. 159; or better in Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, Leipzig, 1920, No. 430. Jeremias also speaks often of the Mother Goddess as weaver (v.g. *Schleier* 33), but he offers no Sumero-Babylonian evidence for this. Note that it is the god Ea who is patron of weavers (*sha ishpari, sha ishparti*) as he is of the other craftsmen (cf. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 181, 290). In his section on Egypt, however, Jeremias declares that, according to the Egyptologists, the ideogram of the goddess Neith is a "Weberschiffchen bzw. Spindel." But this is by no means admitted by all Egyptologists; see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, 1927, p. 491, Sign List R 24, 25 and compare with the "netting needle filled with twine" p. 509, List V, 26, 27. Read also Mueller, *Egyptian Mythology*, Boston, 1923, p. 142 and notes 69 sq. (p. 406 sq.). The section Jeremias devotes to the veil in the Egyptian culture area is sharply criticized by Max Pieper in *Or. Lit. Zeit.* 34 (1931) 613 sq.

[43] Cf. *Schleier* 27 sqq.

The argument drawn from the Descent Myth can be quickly dismissed, since the garment Jeremias calls (in parentheses) a "Schleiergewand" is a kind of loin-cloth and not a veil at all.[44] In fact, Jeremias seems to be at a loss as to which of Ishtar's garments mentioned in the text is to be identified with the veil; in his translation of the Descent given in *AE* 36 sqq. the "Diadem ihres Hauptes" left behind on her entrance is magically transformed into the "Schleier ihres Hauptes" when the goddess issues from the Underworld (cf. p. 38 with p. 44).[45]

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[44] Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar,* Heidelberg, 1926. 235 b defines the *subat bulti* as "Shamtuch (?Hemde)." See also Dhorme, *Choix de textes religieux assyro-babyloniens,* Paris, 1907, p. 332; Contenau, *Manuel d'archeologie orientale* Vol. II, pp. 725, 937. Jensen in *KB* VI, 1, 397 speaks of it as "vielleicht ein wirkliches Kleid," but this does not make it a veil, cf. *Or. Lit. Zeit.* 34 (1931) 618.

[45] In both places the Babylonian text has the same phrase, *aga raba sha kakkadisha.* Yet, in spite of the translation he gives, Jeremias declares that because of the epic style in which this Descent myth is written—a style which sometimes obscures the motifs—the seven articles of dress and their removal are substituted for the veil and unveiling (*Schleier* 13). This is indeed proving a thesis by its missing links! In view of the importance Jeremias attaches to it, it is surprising that the hymns which describe Ishtar's preparations for the descent should so consistently be silent on the veil: we read of stibium for the eyes, cedar sprigs for the arms (?), jewels, the tiara, and the dress (the latter indicated by the quite general terms *tug, kid,* etc.; so v.g. in Witzel, *Tammuz Liturgien and Verwandtes,* Rome, 1935, pp. 11, 31; *id., Auswahl Sumerischer Dichtungen* I, Rom, 1938, pp. 20 sq.). In another text the goddess decides to go to her lover decked as a bride, cf. Witzel, *Tammuz Liturgien,* 144 sq. Now Jeremias claims that the bride's veil is indirectly attested for Sumeria and Babylonia by the designation of the night as the "veiled bride" (*Schleier* 12; the text is Maklu I, 2). Now if this *Assyrian* passage be invoked to prove that the goddess of the *Sumerian* poem wears a veil, we have not yet any proof that the veil was in any special way her symbol or perquisite. Ishtar would be wearing it not because she is a goddess but because she appears here as a bride. However this may be, the Sumerian poem again uses only general terms for the dress. In the Descent Epic and in other places (v.g. Langdon, *SBP* 193, 19) mention is made of Ishtar's girdle; this is supposed to be cosmic in significance (on late Roman authority, *Schleier* 34), but the Sumerian and Babylonian offer no authority for this. In the Descent Epic the girdle is adorned with birth stones (*shibbu* (*abnu*) *aladi sha kablisha,* cf. lines 55 sq., rev. 41), these being amulets

With respect to the Siduri episode in the Gilgamesh Epic, a number of objections may be raised. The first of these concerns the Ishtar-Siduri identification. While it is true that in the immediate context of the Shurpu text cited by Jeremias a number of Ishtar figures are mentioned,[46] yet there is a difference in spelling,[47] and in addition the word "Ishtar" in Shurpu could perhaps be understood in the generic sense of "goddess."[48] Again, the attitude of Siduri toward Gilgamesh in this part of the Epic is far different from that of the raging Ishtar of Tablet VI, and granting that the text is fragmentary, there is no reason to suspect that a reconciliation has taken place. But let the identification pass—does the Epic prove the essential point demanded by the mythic significance of the Life-Death mystery, i.e. does it prove that the goddess unveiled herself before Gilgamesh, and that this had favorable results for the hero? We do not think so. There is not even any proof that an unveiling took place at all. The Assyrian form of the poem states simply that Siduri was "covered with a covering"; the Babylonian recension is silent on this all-important point.[49] It is true that the second column of the latter opens with Gilgamesh speaking to Siduri, while its first column breaks off abruptly in the midst of the hero's dealings with Shamash. Jeremias suggests that an unveiling took place in the missing portion, for Gilgamesh tells Siduri, "Now I have seen your face." Yet the only place in which a covering of any kind is mentioned occurs in the Assyrian version, and keeping in mind the important differences in detail between the two recensions in their description of just this scene, is it not too daring a combination to explain a phrase in the Baby-

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destined to secure child-bearing women an easy delivery and possessed by the goddess in virtue of her office as patroness of births. It is difficult to see what this has to do with a "Weltenkleid, Sternenkleid" or "Zodiakalgürtel" (*Schleier* 34).

[46] After Ishtar come Anunit, Ishhara and Siduri: cf. Zimmern in *KAT* 432 and *ZA* 32 (1919 169; Jensen in *KB* VI, 1, 578 sq. But R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh,* Oxford, 1930, p. 84) thinks this parallel "not convincing."

[47] Siduri in Gilgamesh, Shiduri in Shurpu. But this may be of little moment, since *KAVI* 173, 21 is probably to be emended (Si)-du-ri (in this text, the latter occurs under the names of Ishtar.

[48] Cf. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum,* Romae, 1914, No. 3199: "Ishtar (=dea) sapientiae."

[49] Compare *AOTB* p. 170 with p. 194.

lonian text by an appeal to the Assyrian? Furthermore, the phrase *atamar paniki* does not necessarily demand a previously veiled Siduri. Gilgamesh here uses simply a form of the stock phrase *amaru pan ili,* which meant originally "to look upon the statue or cult representation of a deity," then in a figurative sense, "to pray for divine favor or assistance." To this corresponds the god's looking upon his client, a look which confers all favors and benefits. The contrary phrase is that the god has turned his back (lit. neck) upon the worshipper in token of disfavor.[50] The words of Gilgamesh thus mean, "You have looked upon me (and not turned your back) as a token of your favor; now grant me this greater favor, tell me how to achieve immortality." Note also that in the same Babylonian recension Gilgamesh addresses the identical "now I see your face" to Utnapishtim's servant Sursunabu;[51] does this imply that the latter had also been veiled? Finally, the sequel of the episode is not favorable to the alleged association of unveiling and life for the initiate. The hero does not obtain immortality; Siduri advises him to gather rosebuds while he may, since the gods have reserved life to themselves alone, and it is on a note of the deepest pessimism that the epic at length closes. Is this the answer the myth had to give to the initiate who saw the goddess unveiled? Of course, the Pan-Sumerians would no doubt seek refuge in an unproved "Gegensinn" and there seek a reply.

The text which remains to be considered is the garment passage in the Enuma Elish. On the surface, the Pan-Sumerian interpretation appears striking enough. The same epic in a later tablet depicts Marduk as the orderer of the universe, but here we seem to have a proof of his creative power—a proof given by destroying and restoring a garment; putting the two together, the garment would apparently symbolize the cosmos. Yet such a conclusion does not follow of necessity. The point at issue is not Marduk's ability to "create" a cosmos; the trial is held simply to remove the gods' last lingering doubts about the magical power of their champion before finally and irrevocably entrusting supreme domination to him.[52] This power is presently to be used in the conquest of Tiamat; there is no hint that the gods were thinking of Marduk as a creator of the cosmos.[53] On the other hand, nowhere in the making of the world from the remains of Tiamat does the *word* of Marduk play a part; like other gods in other creation stories, the son of Ea works as an artificer "after the manner of men who bring things into existence by means of physical labor."[54] Thus the connection between the garment and the cosmos approaches the vanishing point.[55]

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[50] See Nötscher, *Das Angesicht Gottes Schauen* nach bib. und bab. Auffassung, Würzburg, 1924, pp. 72 sqq., 133.

[51] Col. IV, 12 (*AOTB* 194)

[52] Deimel, *Enuma Elish und Hexaemeron,* Rom, 1934, pp. 48 sq. For

Turning now to the glyptic evidence, we shall begin with the sphinx of Tell Halaf, since—to judge from the space devoted to it—this statue is the delight of the Pan-Sumerians.[56] In the first place, does the sphinx actually represent the goddess Hepet? In the words of Jeremias, the sculptor has pictured "certainly a Madonna in mythical form, an archaic veiled Ashera" who in Subarean-Mitannian is called Hepa.[57] V. Oppenheim likewise feels no hesitation on this point, explaining the hybrid form as a result of the assimilation of the goddess with the animal upon which she otherwise stands.[58] Yet everything calls for caution here. In reading v. Oppenheim's and the Pan-Sumerian treatment of the question, one cannot master the suspicion that the identification has been assumed rather than proved; at least, not a scrap of actual proof is presented. Furthermore, Dr. W. F. Albright has pointed out that in the Western Asia of the second

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the latest translation cf. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, Chicago, 1942, p. 27.

[53] Furlani is also opposed to an astral or cosmic interpretation; cf. his commentary in *Il Poema della Creazione* (Enuma Elish), Bologna, 1934, pp. 81 and 83 on lines 19 and 29. Even Jeremias can speak only of an "im Epos *verblasste* (italics ours) Vorstellung" of the cosmic garment. So the epic style gets the blame again!

[54] Quoted from Heidel, *op. cit.*, 105.

[55] Jeremias also argues from the fact the burumu=firmament while the verb *baramu*=to weave. But this latter may also mean "to turn, to roll (v.g. a cylinder), to seal, to wind (threads about a stick)"; cf. Bezold, Glossar, 93 b. And if weaving is implied, how do we know that it refers to a garment rather than to some other woven material, v.g. to a tent-cloth? For the Babylonians, like the Hebrews, seem to have compared the heavens to a tent spread over the earth; cf. *infra.*

[56] For their earlier literature, cf. the English translation of the 2d ed. of *ATAO*, "The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient Near East," London, 1911, Vol. I, p. 121, n. 1.

[57] Cf. *Schleier* 19, 21.

[58] Tell Halaf 102, 154.

millenium B.C.[59] the gods were frequently "represented as standing on the back of an animal... but never as themselves in animal form. It is true the Hurrians considered the two bulls Sheri and Khurri, who supported the throne of the storm god Teshub, as minor deities, but they were not identified with the great storm god."[60]

In the second place, was Hepet so completely identified with Ishtar that her characteristics and attributes can be used as a guide in our understanding of the nature of the Babylonian goddess? It is true that many foreign and native goddesses were in the course of time identified with the great Ishtar and their names written with her ideogram, but Hepet seems to have retained a more independent position than the majority of her sisters.[61]

And lastly, is the Tell Halaf statue really veiled? An affirmative answer is one of the earliest dogmas of Pan-Babylonianism; already in 1901 Zimmern had used it to find a mythological background for Ex. 34:33 sq.[62] Ten years later, v. Luschan protested against seeing on the statue a veil that was not there at all, but his words went generally unheeded. The question was again taken up by R. P. de Vaux,[63] and the reasons he gives for a negative answer are decisive. Indeed, the sharpness of the sphinx' features and the brilliance of her one remaining eye—clear even on a photograph—have been troublesome facts for the veil advocates to explain: Jeremias blames them upon the limitations of the artist's capabilities, while v. Oppenheim, on the contrary, sees in them a skillful attempt to represent the veil's transparency.[64]

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[59] Although the dating of the Tell Halaf statues and reliefs is disputed, the high chronology proposed by Herzfeld (Tell Halaf, 225 sqq.; "Der Tell Halaf und das Problem der hettitischen Kunst," in *Arch. Mitt. Iran* VI (1934) 111 sqq.) and adopted by Ungnad, *Subartu*, Berlin & Leipzig, 182 sqq. is today rather generally abandoned in favor of a date in the second millenium; cf. v.g. Contenau, *La Civilisation des Hittites et des Mitanniens*, Paris, 1934, pp. 117 sqq., who holds for nothing higher than the 13th century B.C.

[60] *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, Baltimore, 1940, p 229. Dr. Albright has expressed the hope of publishing at length his findings on this subject, cf. *Archeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore, 1942, p 219, note 99.

[61] Ungnad, *Subartu*, 167: "(Hepet) scheint ihrem Wesen nach keiner babyblonischen Göttin so entsprochen zu haben, dass man für sie ein Ideogram verwenden konnte." See also Furlani, *La Religione degli Hittiti*, Bologna, 1936, pp. 33 sqq. Speiser suggests that her name might have been of Semitic origin, cf. his *Introduction to Hurrian*, (*AASOR* XX), New Haven, 1941, p. 41, n. 91.

[62] Cf. *supra*, note 56.

[63] "Sur le voile des femmes dans l'orient ancien," in *RB* 44 (1935) 397-412, esp. 409 sqq.

So the matter comes down to this: it is highly questionable whether the sphinx represents a goddess at all, it is hazardous to use the Hurrian Hepet as a starting point for conclusions about a Babylonian or Sumerian goddess, it is an error to speak about a veiled sphinx. And with that, the far-reaching conclusions drawn about a veiled goddess and her part in the cosmic gigantomachy all fall to the ground.

The prehistoric figurines that were found on Tell Halaf likewise give little support to the Pan-Sumerian thesis. Prof. Hubert Schmidt, the expedition's expert on prehistoric pottery, refuses to commit himself on the significance of the lines in question, saying only that they are "difficult of interpretation."[65] As for the so-called "Syro-Hittite" seals, scholars are not in agreement about the nature of the object held by the goddess. In 1910 Ward had declared that it is either a garland or a garment and that neither view is satisfactory, although this author seemingly preferred the garment interpretation.[66] In some of his earlier works, Contenau had held the same opinion,[67] but later detailed studies have led him to agree with Boissier[68] that it is a garland after all.[69] Excellent reasons in favor of a flower wreath are also offered by Edwin Pilz.[70] Other scholars, however, see in the object a dress or mantle,[71] and this is the view taken by one of the latest writers on the subject, H. Frankfort.[72] Yet even if this interpretation should prove to be correct, nothing has been gained for the Pan-Sumerian hypothesis, for the theme of an "unveiling" goddess is distinctively Northern and Western, being found exclusively on Cappadocian sealings and on cylinders of Frankfort's Second Syrian style.[73] Mesopotamian examples show nothing of the kind, therefore this evidence too is silent on an alleged Sumerian redeemer myth.[74]

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[64] Cf. *Schleier* 19 with *Tell Halaf* 99. Note also that the statues, reliefs, etc. found on Tell Halaf and certainly representing goddesses—whether Hepa or some other—all lack the veil; cf. *Tell Halaf*, Plates 13a, 43, 44a and b, 45b, 57(2).

[65] *Tell Halaf* 259.

[66] *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, pp. 296 sqq., see also p. 387.

[67] *La déesse nue babylonienne*, Paris, 1914, p. 85; *La civilisation phénicienne*, Paris, 1928, 195.

[68] *RA* 27 (1930) 114.

[69] *Civ. des Hit. et Mitt.*, 228, n. 1.

[70] "Die Weiblichen Gottheiten Kanaans," in *ZDPV* 47 (1924) 149.

[71] V.g. Weber, *op. cit.*, 114; Legrain, *op. cit.*, 36, 53; Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-roemischen Zeitalter*, Berlin & Leipzig, 1930, p. 70.

[72] *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, pp. 249, 270.

(To be continued)

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[73] For an occurrence on a seal that may be genuinely Hittite, cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, 287 sqq., Pl. XLIII o.

[74] Cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, 249. The lines of relationship which this author very hesitantly draws to the Descent Myth (p. 270) are so utterly vague that they can be disregarded.

THE DIVINE SONSHIP OF THE ANGELS

REV. JOHN L. MCKENZIE, S.J., S.T.D.

The title "sons of God" (*bene-elohim* or *bene-elim*) is occasionally used of angels in the Old Testament. Many writers affirm that *bene-elohim* means angels as though this were self-evident. A glance at the texts where it is used will show that this supposition is altogether gratuitous. It will perhaps be not without profit to examine the foundations of this designation of the angels as they have been frequently proposed, and to suggest a more satisfactory explanation.

The texts in which this title is certainly applied to angels are the following:

> And it happened one day that the *bene-ha-elohim*
> entered in to present themselves before Yahweh.
> (Job 1:6; repeated in Job 2:1)

This verse is a tag-line in the prologue of Job. That the *bene-elohim* here are angels appears evident from the context and is questioned by no one. The action takes place in the court of Yahweh, and the Old Testament always supposes that Yahweh is attended by superhuman heavenly beings. The context gives no other clue to their identity or character, and the writer applies the title as though it were so well-known as to need no explanation.

> Give to Yahweh, ye *bene-elim,*
> Give to Yahweh glory and might (Ps. 29:1).

I list this as a text where the phrase is certainly applied to angels, more because of the general consent of exegetes than because of any force in the context. As the words stand in the psalm they could be addressed to men. In interpreting them of angels exegetes lean heavily on the following text.

> Who in the clouds is comparable to Yahweh?
> Or who of the *bene-elim* is like to Yahweh? (Ps. 89:7)

This text is not as obvious as it appears. The intransitive use of *ya-arok* ("be comparable") is very rare in the Old Testament, and is founded here upon parallelism. "Who in the clouds will set himself against Yahweh?" is not an impossible translation.[1] The verse would thus be easily understood of the "hosts of heaven" in the sense of the false deities worshipped by the Babylonians. Against this interpretation is a clear reference to angels in the following verse:

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[1] As in Jer. 50:9.

> El is terrible in the assembly of the q^e*doshim;*
> He is greatly to be feared, above all that are about him.

Whether this is a peremptory argument for the common interpretation of the preceding verse appears questionable.

Job 38:7 is doubtfully applied to the angels:

> When the morning stars gave a ringing cry together,
> And the *bene-elohim* shouted in triumph.

The occasion to which this verse refers is the creation of the world by Yahweh. Here parallelism, far from indicating that the *bene-elohim* are angels, indicates that they are the heavenly bodies, creatures of God personified as praising the workmanship of the Creator. This meaning cannot be definitely excluded from the passage; yet those exegetes and theologians who assure us that the phrase "sons of God" always signifies angels cite this passage without taking any pains to explain it.

Ps. 8:6 is applied by some to the angels, including LXX and Vg:

> Thou hast made him lacking but little from *elohim;*
> Thou hast crowned him with glory and honor.

The translation of *elohim* as angels seems to be a device of the LXX translator to preserve the transcendence of God, which Jerome has followed. The text could bear this sense; but since *elohim* is rather a specific than a proper name, it is better to render it here as "Thou hast made him a little less than *divine.*" Many exegetes see here a reference to the creation of man in the image and likeness of God.[2]

There remains the perplexing text of Gen. 6:2, which tells of the marriages between the *bene-ha-elohim* and the daughters of men. Exegetes are still divided between the two traditional opinions: the sons of God are 1) the angels, in particular the fallen angels; 2) the Sethites, called the sons of God for their piety. No modern Catholic scholar defends the first opinion, nor indeed can it be defended once the spirituality of the angelic nature is supposed. It is unnecessary to add anything here to the recent articles of Joüon and Coleran[3] in defense of the second opinion, since these articles present the evidence for this view in a most convincing manner. A recent study by Closen defends the opinion that the sons of God in Gen. 6:2 are men in general;[4] but Closen can quote only one author in his favor, and while his study is extremely thorough, his arguments appear forced.

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[2] Gen. 1:26-27. Cf. Kirkpatrick, *The Psalms*, p. 40; Briggs, *The Book of Psalms*, I, p. 64.

[3] Joüon, "Les unions entre les 'fils de Dieu' et les 'filles des hommes' (Gen.

A summary of the arguments adduced for the application of the title "sons of God" to angels reveals the following:

Job 1:6, duplicated in Job 2:1, clearly speaks of angels; Ps. 29:1 is generally accepted as applying to angels on the evidence of parallel passages, especially Ps. 89:7; Ps. 89:7 is understood of angels from the force of the context; Job 38:7 is ambiguous, and Gen. 6:2 cannot be used as an argument at all. In other words, the use of the phrase in all but one instance, the duplicated verse in Job, leans on parallel passages, each of which is supported by the others. This is an exegetical house of cards, and to say on this evidence that *bene-elohim* is a technical title of angels in the Old Testament, and still more to say that it is applied exclusively to angels, is to talk nonsense.[5]

In the light of this summary it might appear that any further inquiry into the precise meaning of the title "sons of God" as applied to the angels would be rather futile. However, the questions of biblical theology which this inquiry involves offer some interest and profit in reward for our study.

The explanation has been offered by some that the angels are called *bene-elohim,* or *elohim,* because they are (with Yahweh) members of the class of elohim.[6] *Elohim* as a specific name designates beings of superhuman power, and can be applied to Yahweh as the supreme power, to angels as subordinate powers. This explanation need not be proposed in such a way as to compromise Hebrew monotheism; the Old Testament never confuses Yahweh and the angels,[7] and the fact that the same general

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6:1-4)", *Recherches de science religieuse* 29 (1939), 108-112; Coleran, "The Sons of God in Gen. 6:2", *Theological Studies,* 2 (1941), 487-509.

[4] Closen, *Die Sünde der "Söhne Gottes."*

[5] Which so able a critic as Skinner does: "The sons of God (*bene-elohim*) are everywhere in the OT members (but probably inferior members) of the divine order, or (using the word with some freedom), *angels.*" (*Genesis,* p. 141).

[6] So Davidson, *Theology of the Old Testament,* pp. 293-295, and Kautzsch, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments,* p. 357.

[7] There is an apparent confusion in Gen. 16:7-14; 22:11-18; Jdgs. 2:1, ff.; 6:11-25; 13:3-23, and a few similar passages. This is caused by the

name might be applied to both would not necessarily mean that the angels were regarded as subordinate deities. *Elohim* is, in fact, a specific and not a proper name, although in much of the Old Testament, especially in the so-called E and P portions of the Pentateuch, it is used as a proper name, just as a monotheistic Christian uses the specific name *God* as the proper name of his Deity.

While this explanation has some probability on linguistic grounds, it does not appear to suffice. In the first place, as we have seen, *bene-elohim* is not applied frequently enough, nor in such an unvarying form, as to be regarded as a true title; it is found twice in Job, twice in the Psalms (but with a verbal difference), once doubtfully in Job. *Mal'ak* is used over one hundred times, *q^edoshim* five times; and one would hardly say that *q^edoshim* always means angels. Furthermore, while *elohim* may originally have been a specific name including all superhuman powers, this use has practically disappeared from the Old Testament; this may be determined by consulting the lexicon. For the Hebrews Yahweh was the one true *elohim,* and the name is properly given only to Him, improperly to those who are falsely proposed as equal to Him. The few exceptions to this rule do not alter the general usage, nor furnish sufficient reason for asserting that the angels belong to the class of *elohim.*

While the explanation just cited cannot be denied all probability, it is simply false to say that the angels are "the gods of the old Semitic religion, who have shrivelled up into subordinate heavenly beings," "the nature spirits of the old Semitic heathenism," "who were represented as not in themselves subject to the moral law, nor absolutely dependent on Yahweh," who "did not of course disappear from the popular religion as religion became purer."[8] According to this view the Hebrews, who in their earlier history shared polytheistic beliefs, did not abandon the gods of polytheism altogether, but reduced them to a subordinate

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fact that a super-human apparition is called both Yahweh and the angel of Yahweh, and that the apparition speaks sometimes in the name of Yahweh, sometimes as Yahweh Himself. Whether these inconsistencies are due to later interpolations or to an uncertain identification in the original narrative cannot be decided here. It appears quite probable that those who saw these apparitions could not decide whether Yahweh or an angel was appearing to them; but this does not mean that they regarded Yahweh and the angel as equally divine.

[8] Schultz, *Old Testament Theology* (Eng. trans.), II, pp. 215, 216.

position. In the Old Testament all explicit traces of this primitive belief have disappeared; but to one possessed of insight into the evolution of religion it is plain that the angels of the Hebrews are the gods of the gentiles under another form.

This view is proposed in such a way as to compromise the monotheism which all exegetes admit to be characteristic of the Old Testament as a whole, and hence the presumption is against its truth, unless it can be demonstrated on solid grounds. The only evidence which could support this view must be found in the Old Testament itself, and it must show that the writers of the Old Testament did, explicitly or tacitly, identify the angels and the gentile gods. There is no such evidence in the Old Testament, and none is adduced by the writers who propose this view, except that the angels are called *bene-elohim.*[9] To put the argument briefly: the angels are gods, because they are called *bene-elohim;* they are called *bene-elohim* because they are gods. A proposition of this sort needs no further discussion.

If the angels are not called *bene-elohim* because they are placed in the same genus with Yahweh, nor because they are subordinate deities, nor because they are identified with the false gods of the gentiles, can it be said that the title is given them because they are creatures of God, and in this sense His offspring? We have already mentioned one text (Job 38:7) where the *bene-elohim* appear to be the heavenly bodies. The only reason why the heavenly bodies would be called sons of God is because they are creatures of God.

This explanation does not appear to give the full force of the title as applied to angels. The word *ben* in its metaphorical uses expresses a *special* relation, whose precise meaning must be determined from the context. The fact of creation is not a special relation of the angels to God, but a note which is common to all creatures. We should not expect that the angels would be sons of God in the same sense as the stars, the plants, and the beasts of the field.

It seems that the use of the title "sons of God" as applied to angels will be best explained by what the Old Testament tells us of angels in other contexts. The Old Testament nowhere exhibits a systematic angelology. Angels are supposed throughout as superhuman heavenly beings, ministers of Yahweh, able under His direction to intervene in the affairs of men, enjoying a closer union with Yahweh than is the lot of men. They appear in the earliest books of the Old Testament as well as in the later; and this is true whether one accepts the critical divisions and literary chronology of the Old Testament, or the traditional explanation. They appear in prophetical and sapiential literature as well as in the historical books; they appear in the primitive history and in the most recent history.

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[9] Deut. 4.19; 29:25; 32:8-9; Isa. 14:12; 24:21 (cited, but not quoted, by Schultz, *ibid.*, p. 217) are no evidence. They are not concerned with angels; and the "hosts of heaven" are throughout the OT false gods, especially in Deut. and Isa. Apparently a writer cannot mention the name of a fictitious or mythological being without being thereby convicted of belief in its reality.

That they are superhuman and heavenly in the sense of spiritual can at least be deduced from the text of the Old Testament, although the precise philosophical concept of spirituality is not found there. They are represented as the court of Yahweh,[10] and the spirituality of Yahweh throughout the Old Testament can be questioned only by one who has preconceived notions about what the Hebrews should have believed. Like Yahweh, they are normally invisible, intangible, unapproachable to men.[11] When they appear in bodily form, we are left to infer that this form is not their own, but assumed for the manifestation. Their power over nature is much greater than that possessed by any material creature, and is exercised without any reference to material energy.[12]

That they are "ministering spirits," who at times intervene in human affairs, is self-evident: they usually appear in the Old Testament in the capacity of God's agents to men; otherwise they appear as the heavenly court of Yahweh. They are sent to men to communicate God's message,[13] to destroy,[14] to save,[15] to help,[16] to punish.[17]

That they enjoy a close and intimate union with Yahweh appears from the fact that they are represented as the court of Yahweh. Yahweh debates with them, forms plans with them, takes counsel of them.[18] While such actions are not to be taken literally, the close association with Yahweh which these actions imply is so to be taken. The angels are Yahweh's friends and ministers, associated with Him in the government of men.

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[10] Isa. 6; Job 1:2; Pss. 80:2; 89:5,7.

[11] Tob. 12:19; Jdgs. 6:22.

[12] Gen. 19; 2 Kgs. 19:35.

[13] Gen. 16; 28:12; 32:1; 22:12-18; Dan. 9:21; 10:12; Zach. 1:4-6.

[14] 2 Kgs. 19:35.

[15] Dan. 6:22; Ps. 34:8.

[16] 1 Kgs. 19:5-7; Ps. 91:11-12; 35:5-6.

[17] 2 Sam. 24.

[18] 1 Kgs. 22:19-22; Job 1:2.

The angels are in complete submission to the will of Yahweh.[19] Whenever they appear among men, it is to execute the will of Yahweh. They are sinless; like men, they are bound by the will of Yahweh; unlike men, they are perfectly faithful. There is very little evidence in the Old Testament, and that doubtful, for the existence of the fallen angels.

We do not find in the Old Testament an explicit affirmation that the angels are created by Yahweh. They do not seem to be included in Gen. 1, since this narrative is concerned only with the material universe. On the other hand, their complete dependence on the will of Yahweh leads us to infer that they depend on Him also for their origin. In this respect they are never represented as superior to men.

Viewing this doctrine on the angels as a whole, I think we may say that the characteristic note of the angels is their association with Yahweh as ministers of His will. The very name *mal'ak* suggests this association. The opinion that the angels belong to the class of *elohim* has this much truth, that the angels are always on the side of Yahweh; Yahweh and His angels are set off against men and the world. They belong to heaven, not to earth. They are Yahweh's personal servants, His court, His familiars, "His most confidential and privileged servants."[20] It is this association with Yahweh, this entire consecration to the execution of His will, I believe, which the phrase *bene-elohim* suggests. The angels are Yahweh's company. The usage which seems most closely—though not exactly—analogous to this is found in the phrase "sons of the prophet"—the company of the prophet. And I think we may note here that angelic morality is rather taken for granted in the Old Testament. There is no hint of a trial of the angelic will, of any struggles and failures such as men experience in the way of God. The perfect execution of the will of Yahweh which is the characteristic function of the angel is not represented as the term of personal achievement, but as something almost natural to the angel.

Against this view it may be urged that the presence of the *Satan* among (*b^{e}thok*) the *bene-elohim* in Job 1:6; 2:1, shows that the demons were included in the *bene-elohim*. This view rests on two suppositions: that the *Satan* mentioned here and in Zach. 3:1 ff. is a demon, and that his presence "among" the *bene-elohim* shows that he is one of them. Neither of these suppositions can be demonstrated. The *Satan* of Job and Zacharias does not appear, in my opinion, to be a demon, still less the leader of the forces of evil. He rather appears as a minister of Yahweh whose function is to test the virtue of Yahweh's servants—a sort of Grand Inquisitor. The article (*ha-Satan*) leads one to believe that *Satan* is a "nomen officii, non naturae." Later Judaism conferred the title as a proper name on the chief of the powers of evil, and as such it appears in the New Testament.[21]

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[19] Tob. 12:18; Ps. 103:20-21.

[20] Schultz, *Old Testament Theology*, II, p. 276.

The association with Yahweh which the title "sons of God" connotes appears to be one of government more than of familiar friendship. That the angels enjoy the familiar affection of Yahweh, that they are happy in His intimate presence, is of course not denied by the Old Testament; it is simply less emphasized, and that to a considerable degree, than the association of the angels with Yahweh in the government of the world. They stand in His immediate presence rather as servants ready to do His bidding than as members of His family. Nor does it appear that the phrase "sons of God" connotes a special likeness to God. When so many interpreters roundly assert that the Old Testament does not teach the spirituality of angels, when the spirituality of angels has been denied or doubted by some of the Fathers,[22] it would be rash to assert that the Old Testament emphasizes the special likeness to God which the angels through their spirituality unquestionably possess. It is not whether it is true, but whether it is explicitly and emphatically taught in the Old Testament, that is in question.

In conclusion, then, I understand that the title "sons of God" is applied to the angels as an expression of their close and familiar association with God; and this association is not primarily an association of nature or of likeness, but of will.

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[21] In support of this view cf. König, *Gesch. der alttest. Religion*, p. 551.

[22] Cf. Justin, MPG 6, 432; Athenagoras, MPL 6, 984; Irenaeus, MPG 7, 944; Clement of Alexandria, MPG 8, 576; Cyprian, MPL 4, 857; Ambrose, MPL 16, 203. The doubts of these Fathers were due rather to their lack of an accurate concept of spirituality than to any ambiguity in the text of Scripture itself. I wish merely to establish the point that such a concept cannot be formed by an obvious inference from the text of the O. T.

ST. IRENAEUS AND THE DATES OF THE SYNOPTICS

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III

B. AN UNDERLYING TRADITION? Although the synchronism in its present form is without historical value, there exists the very real possibility that beneath the actual wording of Irenaeus' text may be found a genuine tradition of the first century. Surely no one should be surprised that a man so well connected with master lines of earliest tradition might have possessed information derived from the apostolic age. Neither, on the other hand, should anyone be astonished at the suggestion that a man like Irenaeus might have overlaid a genuinely ancient tradition with details of second century provenance.

1. THE GENUINE SUBSTRATUM OF IRENAEUS' SYNCHRONISM. There can be no doubt that the reference in Irenaeus' synchronism to the founding of the Roman Church by Peter is a genuine item of first century tradition. It is not, of course, our task to discuss in this paper the presence, ministry and death—in a word, the chronology, of Peter at Rome.[93] It will be sufficient to note that if Peter was not perhaps the very first to bring tidings of Christianity to Rome,[94] he must surely be regarded as the first organizer of the primitive Roman Church, its founder. Certainly, the very common view of the early centuries that Peter's ministry at Rome lasted well over twenty years, seems to imply a very early persuasion that the apostle's labors in the imperial city dated from the primitive period of its Church. The various data, too, of early chroniclers,[95] which place Peter's first coming to Rome towards the commencement of the reign of Claudius and his death in the fifties of the first century, point to that same persuasion.

However, the metaphor expressed by the participle θεμελιούντων (fundarent) does not appear to have been used in connection with the work of Peter and Paul at Rome by any author earlier than Irenaeus. While this is true of extant writings, it must be remembered that the literary remains of that early time are exceedingly scanty. In any case, the idea underlying the metaphor is to be found, as we shall presently see, in a fragment of the writings of Dionysius of Corinth (c. 170 A.D.). As for the New Testament, the metaphor of "founder"[96] does not appear in direct descriptions of the first evangelization of the apostolic Churches. Still, it is not unlikely that the metaphor was in use, in description of the work of Peter at Rome, long before the time of Irenaeus. It is a form of speech that would be very obviously suggested by Paul's remark in Rom. 15:20: "And thus I make it a point to preach the Gospel, not where Christ has already been named—in order not to build on some other man's *foundation* (*θεμέλιον*)."[97] The metaphor may consequently go back to a first century tradition.

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[93] There is an excellent resume of the evidence on this subject in U. Holzmeister's *Comment. in Epist. SS. Petri et Iudae,* Pars I, pp. 55-71.

[94] Cf. Acts 2:10.

[95] Cf. U. Holzmeister, S.J., *op. cit.,* Pars I, pp. 60 and 62-63.

2. SECOND CENTURY ADDITIONS. It cannot have been a tradition of the first century that Paul shared in the early evangelization, in the first founding, of the Roman Church. Surely, neither those early Christians of Rome who went out to meet the captive Paul at Forum Appii and Tres Tabernae (cf. Acts 28:15), nor their descendants in the next generation would attribute the founding of the Roman Church to the apostle from Tarsus. For the Roman Church had long been in existence before the coming of Paul in 61 A.D. Neither Clement of Rome, who according to Irenaeus[98] had personally known Peter and Paul, nor men like Clement, would ascribe the early evangelization of Rome to the great Tarsian. We must not lose sight of the continuity of living tradition throughout the last four decades of the first century. There can, then, be no doubt that the element καὶ Παύλου, as found in Irenaeus's synchronism, is not of first century origin.

3. THE GENESIS OF IRENAEUS' ERROR. While Paul was certainly not regarded in the first century tradition of Rome as a real founder of the Roman Church, it is also certain that the apostles Peter and Paul were spoken of in that same century as the two outstanding teachers of the Roman Church, as its two great apostles and martyrs. The evidence of Clement of Rome[99]

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[96] The θεμέλιον metaphor is to be carefully distinguished from the πέτρα metaphor (cf. e.g., Lk. 6:48).—In 1 Cor. 3:10 ff., the use of the θεμέλιον metaphor is somewhat different.

[97] Spencer's translation. Cf. F. A. Spencer, O.P., *The New Testament...*, edited by C. J. Callan, O.P. and J. A. McHugh, O.P. (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. 441.

[98] *Adv. Haer.* III, iii, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 10; MPG 7, 849 B.

[99] Cf. Clemens Rom., *Epist. ad Corinthios*, V, 4-5; ed. Funk-Bihlmeyer (Tübingen: Mohr, 1924), Vol. I, p. 38.

and of Ignatius of Antioch[100] is decisive. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that, apart from the New Testament, our earliest witnesses to the ministry of Peter and Paul at Rome almost invariably name the two apostles together, giving Peter precedence. Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Dionysius of Corinth and Irenaeus himself always refer to the two apostles together. Peter and Paul are constantly presented as the evangelizers of the Roman Church.

So usual did this mode of expression become in early Christian circles, that as time went on, the impression was created that Peter and Paul had come to Rome together, had worked there together, had died there at the same time. In later centuries there is ample evidence[101] of this view. We have already seen[102] that this idea of the contemporaneous dual apostolate is to be found in Irenaeus. And there is evidence that this unhistorical position was held by others in Irenaeus' day. Dionysius of Corinth, in a famous letter to the Roman Church in the time of Pope Soter (166-175 A.D.), makes this interesting statement:[103]

> So also by this so weighty admonition (of yours),[104] you have brought together (again) that planting, made (long ago) by Peter and Paul, of the (Churches of the) Romans and Corinthians. For both of them, planting also in our city of Corinth, taught us in like fashion; and in

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[100] Cf. Ignatius Ant., *Epist. ad Romanos,* IV, 3; ed. Funk-Bihlmeyer, Vol. I, p. 99.

[101] While the contemporaneous ministry and death of the two apostles is often referred to and needs no illustration, it cannot be said that there exist more than traces of the view that the coming of the two apostles to Rome was approximately simultaneous. See however the *Chronicler of the Year 354* (cited by U. Holzmeister, S.I., *Commentarius* . . . , p. 42): "His cons(ulibus [=anno Dom. 33!!]), Petrus et Paulus ad urbem venerunt agere episcopatum." Compare too the following passages of Lactantius: *Divin. Institution.,* IV, xxi, 2 (CSEL Vindob., XIX, p. 367; MPL 6, 516 f.) and *De Morte Persecut.,* II, 5 (CSEL Vindob., XXVII, p. 174; MPL 7, 195 A). See further, Belser, *op. cit.,* pp. 79 ff.

[102] Cf. *supra,* pp. 165 ff.

[103] Quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.,* II, xxv, 8; CGS Berol., Euseb. Tom. II-1, p. 178; MPG 20, 209 A-B.—Certain details of this text are open to debate. Cf. Th. Zahn's notes, *Einleitung* . . . , Vol. I, pp. 450 ff. Note the more emphatic translation given by Valesius (*apud* MPG 20, 210 B): ". . . . . Ambo enim illi in urbem nostram Corinthum ingressi, sparso evangelicae doctrinae semine nos instituerunt; et in Italiam *simul profecti,* cum vos similiter instituissent, eodem tempore martyrium pertulerunt."

[104] This is probably a reference to a letter from the Roman Church (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.,* IV, xxiii, 10).

like fashion they taught also in Italy in the same place, and suffered martyrdom at the same time.

Just as Dionysius associates Peter with Paul in the founding of the Church of Corinth, so he joins Paul with Peter in the founding of the Roman Church. Without saying it in so many words, Dionysius distinctly gives the impression that as the deaths of the two apostles were contemporaneous, so their labors at "planting" the Roman Church belonged to the same period of time. And, it should be noted, Dionysius does not seem to expect that his statement may be challenged.

The idea of the contemporaneous dual apostolate arose, it would appear, out of the popular custom of joining together the names of the two apostles. People knew that both had toiled at Rome, that both were regarded as the apostles of the Roman Church. Gradually the impression was created that the apostolates of Peter and Paul at Rome had been strictly contemporaneous, that both apostles had shared equally in the early evangelization of the Roman Church. Now it is precisely this tendency of the second century that seems to explain the anomalous features of Irenaeus' synchronism.

Irenaeus may well have been acquainted with a genuine tradition attesting that Aramaic Mt. had been published about the time that Peter was first evangelizing the Roman community. But as Irenaeus also shared the view of Dionysius of Corinth and of so many later writers that the activities of Peter and Paul at Rome were quite contemperaneous and practically coterminous, he thought it quite natural to add his *καὶ Παύλου* to the primitive tradition. Nor would he be conscious of altering the primitive tradition. To Irenaeus the insertion of *καὶ Παύλου* would be simply a further completion of the thought.

As we bring to a close this discussion of the Matthaean testimony, we must add a word of caution. This lengthy treatment of Irenaeus' synchronism and of its underlying tradition must not be allowed to obscure the conclusion reached in the first part of the paper, that Irenaeus' primary consideration in the Four Gospel passage was not the purveyance of time-data.

PART THREE: THE SECOND AND THIRD GOSPELS

There is no need to set forth again the difficulties patent in Irenaeus' statements relative to Mk. and Lk. We shall limit ourselves to the task at hand, the problem of determining the real meaning intended by Irenaeus in his pronouncements on the Second and Third Gospels. As neither of these statements of Irenaeus can be understood independently of the other, both will have to be treated together. And here, as in our discussion of the Matthaean testimony, considerations of context as well as of text must be kept in view. References to our earlier remarks on the general context will be mingled with our direct examination of the Markan and Lukan testimonies.

The interpretation to be given to these two testimonies will be found to depend mainly on the sense of two phrases in the Markan testimony: *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον* and *ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν*. These two phrases will consequently determine the general outline of this last section of the paper.

I. THE TERMINUS POST QUEM. We have already called attention[105] to the fact that many critics have defended the view that the term *ἔξοδον* at the beginning of the Markan testimony signifies departure. As this interpretation brings the Markan and Lukan testimonies of Irenaeus into agreement with the Alexandrian tradition, it demands careful consideration. All the more so, as departure is the primary meaning of *ἔξοδος*.

1. A DEPARTURE OF THE APOSTLES? This interpretation takes two forms. Patrizi[106] claimed to be among the first to defend the view that *ἔξοδον* denotes the departure of the apostles from Palestine. He was followed in this by Cornely[107] and others. The word *ἔξοδον*, according to these authors, refers back to the event described in the foregoing context: "exierunt (sc. apostoli ex Palaestina) in fines terrae." And these authors, it is to be noted, referred *τούτων*, not exclusively to Peter and Paul, but to the whole apostolic group according to the tenor of the phrase just quoted. Accordingly, Irenaeus would simply have

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[105] Cf. supra, pp. 38.—We may note here that it did not seem necessary to discuss the reading of certain *Catenae*: *μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίου ἔκδοσιν*. Any change of the text of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* V, viii, 3, along these lines is purely harmonistic in tendency and quite unjustified.

[106] F. X. Patritius, S.J., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 38 (no. 22): "me animadvertere iussit [sc. quidam ex Patritii auditoribus], quod nemo adhuc, quantum scio, animadverterat, ut nomen *ἔξοδον* in hoc loco significet utique *exitum*, non tamen Petri et Pauli ex Urbe, sed *omnium apostolorum* ad ceteras gentes docendas."

[107] R. Cornely, S.J., *op. cit.*, Vol. III, no. 22, p. 78: "pronomen *τούτων* refertur . . ad omnes apostolos."

said that Mk. and Lk. were composed sometime after the departure of the apostles from Palestine.

At first sight this interpretation of our phrase is not unattractive. And yet, though its authors deserve credit for not failing to take account of the context, their understanding of the text can hardly be accepted. Although their interpretation of the text has a seeming foundation in the previous context, it will be found upon closer examination that the immediate text in conjunction with the context rules out this explanation of the passage.

The progressive quality of each succeeding member, the onward movement of the thought, is a marked literary feature of the Four Gospel passage. But in the interpretation now under consideration, the forward movement of the passage would be seriously disturbed. In this passage which, as we have seen,[108] stresses the geographic idea more than the temporal, Irenaeus after mentioning Matthew's work in Palestine and then moving on to the labors of Peter and Paul at Rome, would suddenly shift back to the Palestinian scene only to advance once again, this time to Ephesus. After referring to the preaching of Peter and Paul at Rome, Irenaeus would go back to that earlier time when Peter and the rest of the Twelve departed from Palestine, to find a *terminus post quem* for the writings of the later disciples of Peter and Paul! And that Irenaeus regarded Mark and Luke as followers of Peter and Paul only in the latter period of these apostles' career, seems clear enough. Luke, at any rate, is first described by Irenaeus[109] as a companion of Paul at the time of that apostle's second missionary expedition.

For the rest, we may note that τούτων cannot without real violence to the text refer to the whole apostolic group. The exclusive reference of this pronoun to "Peter and Paul," the immediate antecedent, is manifest. Now if this pronoun refers exclusively to the two apostles, the proposed interpretation of the introductory temporal formula becomes even more difficult. For Paul would then seem to be associated with Peter in some common departure from Palestine otherwise unknown to us. Furthermore, Irenaeus after speaking of the later labors of Peter and Paul at Rome, would be made to revert surprisingly to the earlier departure of these two apostles from Palestine to mark the *terminus post quem* of Mk. and Lk. In so doing, Irenaeus who certainly considered these two gospels posterior to Aramaic Mt., would be setting down a time-period for Mk. and Lk. which would include the time assigned by him to Aramaic Mt.! Indeed, the period assigned to Mk. and Lk. would be partially anterior to, and partially contemporaneous with, the time set down for Aramaic Mt.! If we have delayed longer on this form of the departure theory than its intrinsic importance warrants, it is because this interpretation still finds its way into manuals of theology.

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[108] Cf. *supra*, p. 43.

[109] Following the Western text of Acts 16:8, Irenaeus writes: "*nos venimus* in Troadem." *Adv. Haer.* III, xiv, 1; ed. Harvey II, p. 74; MPG 7, 913 A.

The other form of the departure theory whereby the word ἔξοδον designates a departure of the two apostles from Rome, is likewise unacceptable. Although this form of the theory is not so open to objection as the hypothesis just considered, it is hardly appropriate to the text and it is certainly unsuited to the context. It is this latter consideration that we shall stress. To be sure, Th. Zahn urged[110] that if Irenaeus had meant to signify a departure from Rome, he would have appended ἐκ Ῥώμης or some equivalent expression. While there is some force to this observation, it would seem that the *locus ex quo* would be at least vaguely indicated in the previous ἐν Ῥώμῃ. What seems to tell more against the interpretation in question, is the failure of Irenaeus to designate not only the place of departure, but also and especially the destination of the two apostles.

Passing on to considerations of context, we cannot help noting that the translation "after their departure from Rome" would destroy the illustrational character of this part of the Four Gospel passage. We saw already[111] that to Irenaeus Rome and Ephesus were "ends of the earth." The apostles go forth to the ends of the earth: two of them, Peter and Paul, reach Rome; John goes to Ephesus. But in the present interpretation, Peter and Paul, unlike John, who ends his career at Ephesus, would not be presented by Irenaeus as terminating their life-work at Rome. Our last sight of them would be the moment of their departure from Rome. This can hardly have been Irenaeus' meaning.

In this interpretation too, we should have to suppose some well-known departure of both apostles from Rome. No such event is known to us or recorded elsewhere by Irenaeus. Some proponents of this hypothesis refer to the journeys of Peter to Pontus which are mentioned by Epiphanius[112] and others. However it may be seriously doubted that Peter ever made these journeys: they are very probably no more than a false inference from 1 Pet. 1:1.[113]

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[110] Th. Zahn, *Einleitung...*, Vol. II, p. 180.

[111] Cf. *supra*, p. 43.

As for Paul, it is difficult to suppose that Irenaeus did not regard that apostle's two years of captivity at Rome (cf. Acts 28:16 ff.) as terminating in his martyrdom. Our discussion[114] of Irenaeus' chronological views surely points to that conclusion. For unless Irenaeus placed the death of Paul after the time of Nero, the two years of captivity at Rome can hardly have been dated earlier by our author than A.D. 66-68. For although Irenaeus certainly recognized the genuineness of the Pastoral Letters,[115] it does not necessarily follow that he drew from the fact of those letters the logical conclusion that Paul, after enjoying an intermediate period of freedom, had undergone a second captivity at Rome ending in martyrdom. As Irenaeus' chronology will not admit a second captivity, it may be said without hesitation that our author's position on the contemporaneous apostolate of Peter and Paul at Rome and his special views on New Testament chronology render the proposed interpretation most unlikely if not quite impossible.

2. THE DEATH OF THE APOSTLES. Although *death* is not the primary meaning of ἔξοδος, there can be little doubt that Irenaeus had that meaning in view. The context, as we have just seen, will not admit *departure* as the sense to be given the term. On the positive side, Irenaeus' New Testament chronology and his position on the contemporaneity of the dual apostolate point unmistakably to *death* as the meaning of the term under discussion. Now although the full expression would be ἔξοδος τοῦ βίου or τοῦ ζῆν,[116] the word ἔξοδος alone can also have this meaning.[117]

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[112] Epiphanius, *Panarion, Haer.* XXVII, vi, 6; CGS Berol., Epiphan. Tom. I, p. 309; MPG 41, 373 A.

[113] Cf. U. Holzmeister, *Comm. in Epist. SS. Petri et Iudae*, Pars I, pp. 35 f.

[114] Cf. *supra*, pp. 169-178.

[115] Irenaeus quotes from the three Pastoral Letters and ascribes all three to Paul.

[116] Cf. respectively: Justin, *Dial.* CV, 3; ed. Archambault, Tom. II, p. 146; and Josephus, *Ant.* IV, viii, 2 (no. 189).

[117] Cf. Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* ἔξοδος III; Vol. I, p. 596.

And it is interesting to note that in Irenaeus' own time the word was so used in the celebrated *Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lugdunum*[118] to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia. That *death* was the meaning understood by the ancient Latin translator of *Adv. Haereses,* seems fairly plain from his rendering "post vero horum excessum." However, the translation "post quorum exitum" which we find in Rufinus' version of the *Church History* of Eusebius,[119] is unquestionably ambiguous.

Against the present interpretation, Knabenbauer objected[120] that Irenaeus would have used some derivative of μάρτυς if he had wished to speak of the deaths of Peter and Paul. So great, this writer argued, was Irenaeus' esteem for martyrdom and so high his regard for the apostles of Rome, that he would never have referred to their glorious death by so ordinary and banal a term as ἔξοδος. This objection would be to the point if it had been Irenaeus' intention to stress the testimony borne by the two apostles to the faith in the presence of Roman judges. For Knabenbauer seems to have forgotten that the nominal and verbal derivatives of μάρτυς, at least in the first two centuries of Christianity, do not necessarily have the technical sense of red or bloody martyrdom. The Christian who bore witness to his faith before a public tribunal, became by that fact alone a μαρτύρησας even though condemnation to death and execution did not eventuate.[121] In *Adv. Haereses* the derivatives of μάρτυς often refer to confessions of faith issuing in the death of the confessor; yet, it is to be noted, Irenaeus frequently inserts an additional word or phrase explicitly mentioning the "martyr's" execution and death.[122]

Furthermore, the use of ἔξοδος implied no lack of esteem and respect for the two apostles. If Irenaeus wished to designate the deaths of Peter and Paul, what is more natural than that he should employ Peter's own expression: μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον

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[118] Quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, V, i, 36; CGS Berol., Euseb. Tom. II-1, p. 416; MPG 20, 421 B.

[119] Th. Mommsen's edition, CGS Berol., Euseb. Tom. II-1, p. 445.

[120] I. Knabenbauer, S.J., *Evangelium secundum Lucam* (Parisiis: Lethielleux, 1896), p. 9, note 1.

[121] Cf. e.g., Origen, *In Matthaeum,* XVI, 6; CGS Berol., Origen. Tom. X, p. 486; MPG 13, 1385 A.

[122] Thus e.g., in the reference to the death of Stephen; cf. *Adv. Haer.* III, xii, 10; ed. Harvey II, p. 65; MPG 7, 904 B.

(2 Pet. 1:15)? Surely it would be honor aplenty for Peter and Paul to have their deaths designated by the very term Luke used in the Transfiguration narrative to describe the impending death of Christ (cf. Lk. 9:31).

(*To be continued*)

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MONSIGNOR R. A. KNOX'S NEW RENDERING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

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Catholic biblical scholars, both here and abroad, have shown a more than ordinary interest, in recent years, in making the New Testament more accessible, more palatable, more inviting, to English-speaking readers. After the old Douay Version, with its occasional variations, had gone into our flesh and blood through its use for centuries, it was felt that a new age required a new translation. This general feeling gave rise to the *Westminster Version* in England. In this country Father Spencer's rendering, the beginnings of which lie further back, was freshly edited. Quite recently we were presented with a new Revision under the auspices of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. And now, on top of all these efforts, comes the announcement that the distinguished Monsignor R. A. Knox, widely known for his splendid and vigorous participation in Catholic activity in England, is on the point of publishing a new translation. This does not come as a surprise to readers of the *Tablet* or other English Catholic magazines.

I hope my intentions will not be misinterpreted if in the present paper I undertake to comment on Msgr. Knox's translation of St. Luke, 2:42-52, as presented in the *Tablet* for January 9, 1943. My excuse for doing so is to see, for myself in the first place, just wherein and in what details this new translation is to be different from, and, of course, an improvement on, all its predecessors. And besides, since details of rendering are but the result of general principles, a further inducement for my comment has been the desire to set forth one or two ruling norms which are part and parcel of my own way of dealing with New Testament translation, and command, I think, sufficient interest to call for public discussion.

Msgr. Knox's rendering of the passage from St. Luke runs as follows:

42 When Jesus was twelve years old, after going up to Jerusalem, as
43 the custom was at the time of the feast, and completing the days
of its observance, they set about their return home. But the boy
Jesus, unknown to his parents, continued his stay in Jerusalem.
44 And they, thinking that he was with their travelling companions,
had gone a whole day's journey before they made enquiry for him
45 among their kinsfolk and acquaintances. When they could not find

him, they made their way back to Jerusalem in search of him,
46 and it was only after three days that they found him. He was
sitting in the temple, in the midst of those who taught there,
47 listening to them and asking them questions; and all those who
heard him were in amazement at his quick understanding and at
48 the answers he gave. Seeing him there, they were full of wonder,
and his mother said to him, My son, why hast thou treated us
so? Think, what anguish of mind thy father and I have endured,
49 searching for thee. But he asked them, what reason had you to
search for me? Could you not tell that I must needs be in the place
50 which belongs to my Father? This word which he spoke to them
51 was beyond their understanding; but he went down with them
on their journey to Nazareth, and lived there in subjection to
them, while his mother kept in her heart the memory of all this.
52 And so Jesus advanced in wisdom with the years, and in favor
both with God and with men.

The first thing to strike one in reading Msgr. Knox's rendering is that He means definitely to break away from the leading strings of the old Douay Version. This is a commendable feature which I find it hard to overestimate, and which will, I am sure, win more and more friends among biblical scholars. The Douay V. is a venerable document. It has edified and instructed and consoled generations of Catholic readers throughout the English-speaking world. No standard history of English literature can pass it by unnoticed and unsung. But even the best things in the world have their limited day of glory when their literary value is bound up with some practical and immediate purpose in our lives. Shakespeare's Plays are pure literature and will therefore live forever. Not so our English Bible, which is meant to influence the daily lives of the literate as well as the illiterate, to whom it must be their spiritual food. Beyond its literary quality, therefore, it must have the power to speak to us in accents to which we are accustomed in our day. Students of English literature will continue to consult and appreciate the old Douay V., but if the common man of the twentieth century is to live by his English Bible, it must be bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh. It follows that no modern translation of the Bible is altogether satisfactory from this point of view so long as it is content with 'touching up' the Douay V. and making it up to date. Mere touching up of an old version will not meet the imperative demands of the present age. English idiom advances by its own internal laws and nothing can stop the process. No Shakespearean scholar would dare 'touch up' Shakespeare's plays in order to make them more readable at the present time. One must either read these plays as Shakespeare wrote them or not read them at all. It is the same with the Douay V. Quite recently[1] Professor W. H. Alexander, of the University of California. spoke a true word when he said: "To my way of thinking, there cannot be any such thing as a permanent translation; it is a work which will require constant re-doing." I know, of course, that *practical* considerations may be in the way of achieving this ideal in the case of the Bible; but it is well to hold up the ideal now that Msgr. Knox seems in a fair way of achieving it. Among the Orthodox Greeks in the Balkans, I was told, the Bishops meet every ten years and discuss, among other things, what changes in their version of the Bible seem advisable in view of the changes in their vernacular in the preceding decade.

A glance at this new rendering of St. Luke, 2:42-52, shows at once the hand of the scholar. Thus the addition of 'of its observance' is aptly chosen to account for the Greek article τάς before ἡμέρας. The use of 'completing' in place of 'fulfilling' is also acceptable, though, for myself, I like neither. English idiom has, I am sure, a word for τελειόω (not necessarily always the same) wherever it occurs in the Greek NT. The phrase 'they set about their return' is a neat rendering of the durative present infinitive with ἐν τῷ. Msgr. Knox's note on ἐγένετο before εὗρον is likewise most appropriate. It underlines, as he says, 'the emergence of a new factor in the situation. To omit this connotation in the rendering altogether or to express it by a simple 'it happened that' will not do justice to the Greek.' Furthermore, the phrasing in 'Think, what anguish of mind. . .' is a happy attempt to put life into the Gospel narrative. The Gospels are quivering with life, both in the narrative portions and, especially, in the recorded utterances, whether of our Lord or of any other person, and the heart-throb of the original must, somehow, be felt in a modern rendering. The phrase 'with the years' in the last sentence reveals the author's acquaintance with a prominent feature of all Greek style, called Parataxis. So there is much in the passage which calls for unstinted praise.

I am sure Msgr. Knox will not object if I proceed to point out what seem to me blemishes that mar the pleasure of all the good that can be said about the passage under consideration. In fair-

[1] *The Classical Journal* for March, p. 339.

ness to myself I must add that my remarks are submitted *salvo meliore iudicio.*

Verse 42. The opening sentence is, I think, unsatisfactory. It crowds too many disparate incidents into one grammatical structure and is, in consequence, heavy, unwieldy, lumbering along. Its tone is that of biblical or Hellenistic Greek rather than of good English. It needs to be broken up. Another flaw in it is the use of the participle in *going up.* Who is going up? Jesus, who was just mentioned? Or His parents, who are implied in the pronoun *they* which comes in the last clause?

V. 44. *And they* does not strike me as very happy, missing, as it does, the flavor of simple narrative English. Here, strange to say, a literal adherence to the Greek would have improved the rendering. The phrase 'with *their* travelling companions' is, I think, puzzling. If Jesus was 'with *their* companions' and if, as one should suppose, *these* travelling companions were with the parents (why else should they be called *companions?*), then it might seem to follow that Jesus was all the time with His parents. Our American Revision precludes even this momentary doubt by rendering: 'Thinking that He was in the caravan.' A caravan was "une *longue file* de gens à pied, à âne ou à cheval, cheminant par groupes de parents ou d'habitants du même bourg, sur une *longueur* d'un ou même de plusieurs kilomètres" (Lagrange). Being with one group of the caravan, the parents might have supposed the Child to be in another without His really being there. The use of the word 'travelling companions' is puzzling.

The parents *had gone a whole day's journey before they made enquiry for Him.* Msgr. Knox is led to this roundabout rendering by supposing the aorist ἦλθον to have the force of an English pluperfect. I think it would be much simpler to take the aorist in its native force: 'they *went* a day's journey and (then) began to search for Him.' There is here no call for an extra stress on the aorist.

V. 45. They *could not* find Him. This is, of course, true; but the touch of frustration (they *could not*) or disappointment is absent from the Greek. Ordinarily this would require the negative imperfect, called by grammarians the imperfect of resistance or refusal.[2] The Greek μὴ εὑρόντες stands for οὐχ εὗρον καί. It is possible, though, that the author did find the note of disappointment in the use of μή. In discriminating between οὐ and μή as used in NT, I find it best to follow Blass's sweeping statement:[3] οὐ negatives the indicative, μή all other moods without any further discrimination.

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[2] Smyth, *Greek Grammar,* 1896, and Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek,* 216.

V. 46. This is neatly done. It gathers into the limits of one grammatical structure the situation in which the parents found the Child. V. 47, '*and* all those who heard Him,' really starts a new sentence. Still, it seems to me that it would have been better to join 47 more closely, in a subordinate clause (as I have done in my rendering), to what precedes. The reason for this preference is that 47 merely *completes* the situation, by giving the impression which the Child produced on the audience. Both verses belong together in thought, and might, therefore, also be bracketed in the rendering. The use of a full stop after αὐτοὺς and of δέ after the verb is, of course, no objection to this view. Besides, the bracketing has an advantage in that the pronoun *they* in 48 is thus more easily referred by the English reader to the parents of the Child, instead of to the persons meant by *they* in the clause immediately preceding.

V. 48. The capital flaw in Msgr. Knox's rendering is, so far as I can see, the fact that the words *and His mother said to Him* are joined, quite unceremoniously, to what precedes. 'His parents were full of wonder, and His mother said to Him.' This close connection of the two events leads the reader to suppose that Mary, on seeing the Child sitting among the Rabbis, did not restrain her feelings, but then and there, in the presence of these learned men and of the interested corona surrounding them, blurted out with a complaint: 'My Son, why hast thou treated us thus?' This, to my mind, is utterly unthinkable. Mary was a lady, and no lady, unless she were carried away by an excess of emotion and almost beside herself with grief, would, in the hearing of all, take her son to task for his behavior. Jansenius, Maldonatus, Toletus, and a Lapide, not to mention others, explain 'haec matrem dixisse cum dimissis doctoribus *solus esset cum parentibus* puer.' Knabenbauer records this, adding, however, 'dubito num recte.' One of his reasons for doubting is that 'affectus *vehementia* (!) suadetur matrem, simul ac filium viderit, in ea *prorupisse* verba.' This is a *durus sermo,* which runs counter to Catholic feeling. No, Mary did not lose her self-control. My own impression is that she awaited a quiet moment, say, on the way home, before she put the question to Jesus. All biblical scholars know that events coupled by a καί may be far apart in point of time. To forestall the unpleasant impression created by Msgr. Knox's rendering I make a full stop after ἐξεπλάγησαν, and begin a new paragraph with καὶ εἶπεν. Ever anxious as she was *fructum aliquem capere* (a phrase familiar to us from the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius), she was eager to know why Jesus had acted in that unaccustomed way. She wanted to profit by His conduct. She felt that there was a lesson in this. She did not fully comprehend His answer, and another lesson in her spiritual training was needed (see St. John 2:4) before she was initiated into the great truth that the time would come when Jesus was withdrawn from her jurisdiction. We now understand why St. Luke stresses the Child's 'subjection to their authority' while at Nazareth. It is perfectly clear that Mary did not *complain* of her Son's conduct: bent on her own spiritual progress, she was hoping our Lord's answer would reveal to her God's wonderful ways (Lk. 2:19 and 51: διετήρει πάντα τὰ ῥήματα).

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[3] *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*: 426.

Finally, exception should or might, I think, be taken to Msgr. Knox's rendering of certain words expressing strong emotion, as ἐκπλήττεσθαι, θαυμάζειν, and ἐξίστασθαι. On ἐκπλήττομαι, I have spoken my mind in my *Gospel of St. Mark,* p. 165. The word 'amazement' should, I think, be excluded from our vocabulary in rendering the Gospels. It is overworked in modern colloquial speech. Every school girl is 'amazed' at almost anything. In sober standard prose it tends to disappear. Meaning originally 'distraction of mind, bewilderment, frenzy, etc.,' it is now used in the sense of 'overwhelming wonder,' and even for this sense the *English Oxford Dictionary* gives only one instance for the 18th and 19th centuries combined! My objection to the customary rendering of the words named above is that Greek was extremely elastic, and bore just as much or as little meaning as one would put into it. As a matter of fact, even in the classics, those words are all of them capable of expressing a milder sensation, and one that is more pleasurable. See, for instance, Liddell and Scott on ἐπλήττομαι. Now, let us look at the situation under discussion. On seeing her Child in the midst of the Rabbis, Mary could not be in a state of 'overwhelming wonder.' How does a fond mother feel when, after missing her child for three days, she suddenly sees him safe and sound? That Jesus was among the Rabbis, was not in itself extraordinary; for, as Msgr. Knox himself explains, many other children attended this 'catechism' class. To 'see' her Child again (ἰδόντες) was a cause for joy,—intense joy, if you like, but at any rate joy. And that is precisely what ἐξεπλάγησαν expresses. In finding a more pleasant English word to express this joy, I am still within the limits of NT Greek, and, not to forget, within the atmosphere of this happy reunion of mother and Child.

Also the word *wisdom* for σοφία is, I think, objectionable. See Liddell and Scott. Lastly, the use of *thou* and *thee* in ordinary conversation is not, I am sure, relished by the general American reading public. Their proper place is in addressing God.

If I now venture to subjoin my own rendering of this passage, I do so, I hope, with becoming modesty: it merely shows how the 'blemishes' in Msgr. Knox's rendering can be avoided.

41 Now, His parents were in the habit of going year after year to
42 Jerusalem to celebrate the Paschal Feast. And so, too, when He
was twelve years old, they went up according to their custom at
43 the time of the Feast. After spending there the required number
of days, they prepared to return home, but the Child Jesus remained
behind in Jerusalem, without His parents knowing anything
44 about it. Supposing Him to be in the caravan, they finished
a day's journey and began to search for Him among their relations
45 and acquaintances. And when they did not find Him, they retraced
their steps to Jerusalem, there to renew their search for
46 Him. At long last, on the third day, they discovered Him on the
Temple grounds, seated among the Rabbis, now listening to them,
47 now asking them questions, while all who heard Him were
48 charmed by His intelligence and His answers. They were overjoyed
to see Him.
His mother said to Him: 'My Child, why did you behave toward
us in just this way? Oh, how our hearts were heavy—your father's
49 and mine—as we looked for you!' He then said to them:
'Why did you look for me? I had to be at my Father's beck and
50 call—and you did not know it?' But they did not comprehend the
51 meaning of what He said to them. He went down in their company
and came to Nazareth, where He was subject to their authority.
His mother treasured all these incidents in mind and heart.
52 Meanwhile Jesus made steady progress in understanding, in proportion
to His age, as well as in favor with both God and men.

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GENESIS 1-11 IN THE SEMINARY SCRIPTURE COURSE

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Perhaps no portion of the Old Testament confronts the priest more frequently than its opening chapters. There lie the stories of the beginnings of things and of life, there, also lies the explanation of some of man's most fundamental problems and the answers to some of humanity's most torturing questions: the origin of the universe, the origin and nature of man, the problem of evil and hence of pain. These chapters, moreover, plunge us into the midst of two crucial modern questions: the relations of science and the Bible, and the now even more important question of the relations of history and the Bible. So we are hardly surprised that the priest should face frequent inquiries about this part of Genesis. What should, however, surprise us greatly is the fact that these queries are all too often waved aside with thin answers that scarcely settle any doubts, much less shed glory on Catholic scholarship. If, therefore, the priest cannot give intelligent, adequate replies, the supposition will be that the Church has no answer. And when the Bible and science or history conflict in the mind of the modern man, only too often revelation loses the day to the less certain, but more tangible data of human wisdom.

It would be highly desirable, then, if we could concur in some basic attitudes toward the problems involved and in adopting means to remedy this situation. A vigorous, concentrated effort would result, in which an intelligent, decorous explanation of Gen. 1–11 might become common stock of both clergy and laity. This paper, then, proposes ideas, general and broad for the most part, along this line, together with a modicum of application. On the one hand, much of the matter suggested may seem rather obvious, while, on the other, some few things may seem to lean decidedly toward the left.[1] Yet, since the writer's intention is to provoke discussion rather than define and settle, these limitations might pass with indulgence.

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* Paper read at the annual meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association, September 1, 1942, at Cleveland, Ohio.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The present article deals with an important, difficult, and controversial subject. Helpful and constructive comment from competent readers will be highly appreciated by the author as well as by the editors. We shall be pleased to publish communications of this type in our newly established correspondence department.

[1] No less an authority than Pope Pius X has pointed out that it is sometimes necessary to depart from traditional scriptural exegesis: "Condem-

THE PLACE OF GEN. 1–11 IN THE SCRIPTURE COURSE

It may seem strange to insist that these chapters should be part of the Scripture course. Yet, in view of the limited number of hours allowed that branch in most seminaries, the temptation is strong (and not always resisted) to leave the discussion of Gen. 1–11 to the course of dogmatic theology. But the dogmatic treatment, important though it is, is not sufficient. It is precisely the scriptural aspect which causes most difficulties and about which most inquiries are made. Therefore they should be studied in the scripture course, and early in the course, preferably before the dogmatic discussion. In fact, the normal place for them would seem to be in the course in Old Testament history.[2] For, although they do not come under the scope of history in the strict scientific sense of the term, they are none the less historical. And what is more, they are fundamental to biblical history: they are Moses' own introduction to sacred history. We do not start at the beginning, so to speak, when we start with Abraham and reserve previous chapters of Genesis for more detailed and exhaustive treatment later.

In his excellent brochure on the study and teaching of sacred history, Father Coppens[3] suggests two plans for a course in Old

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nation is merited by the rashness of those who are more zealous to follow the attractions of novelty than the teaching authority of the Church and do not hesitate to have recourse to critical proceedings of excessive liberty; at the same time it is right and proper to disapprove the attitude of those who dare not in any matter break with traditional scriptural exegesis, even when without prejudice to the Faith the wise progress of studies demands it." Quoted by E. F. Sutcliffe, *Clergy Review*, XXII (1924), p. 443.

[2] In his splendid survey, "The Curriculum of Scriptural Studies in Our Seminaries," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, I (1939), pp. 214 ff., 333 ff., Father Byrne (p. 221) states that 31 seminaries have a special class in O. T. History. He recommends (p. 337) that the Scripture course include a class in history of the O.T. during the second year of philosophy. He further recommends that Gen. 1–11 be taught as part of the exegesis course in the second year of theology. Much can be said in favor of this recommendation. Since, however, the majority of seminary curricula will not for the present allow sufficient class hours to carry out Father Byrne's program in full, I believe that some time might be salvaged by treating Gen. 1–11 in the class of O.T. History.

[3] J. Coppens, *Pour Mieux Comprendre et Mieux Enseigner l'Histoire Sainte de l'Ancien Testament* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1936), pp. 53 ff.

Testament history. The first he calls a "course of sacred history of higher degree" (our college course, roughly). In this he would begin with the political history of the Ancient East and of Israel, giving consideration to "religious pre-history" immediately before the special treatment of O.T. religion. In the second plan, that for the "middle and elementary course" (corresponding to our high school course) he suggests that "pre-history" take first place, immediately after the generalities concerning sources. His suggestions can and should, I believe, be applied to the seminary course of O.T. history likewise.

Though given a prominent place, these chapters should not be overemphasized. Succinct and rapid treatment is the ideal. A month or two should be ample time to do them justice, especially since their full dogmatic treatment is left to that course. All that need be taken in the O.T. history cycle is the relations of the chapters to history in general and the meaning of the sacred author in as far as that can be determined.

METHOD OF TREATMENT

A *positive* approach is indispensable. These chapters should not be presented with great solemnity as bristling with difficulties, objects of endless dispute and divergent opinion on the part of exegetes. The only effect such an attack has on the mind of the student is bewilderment: if scholars hack and argue endlessly, what can the average untrained person do in his limited time? And so the impression is easily created, that the exegesis of this part of Scripture—if not of all Scripture—is simply a maze of unconvincing, insoluble disputes, tempests in tea-pots; that there is little positive about it; and consequently that it is bootless to cherish even as a far-off ideal a hope of understanding the word of God.

Professors are often accountable for this attitude. In preparing class they must delve into much learned discussion. Often they feel dissatisfied if they do not give the student all that they have gleaned, forgetting that their task is to gather and sift in order to give only what the student needs. This sifting and sorting is perhaps the most difficult part of preparation because it means that an independent judgment must be made in each case. Admittedly it would be far easier to propose all the opinions rather than to weigh them judiciously and then exclude some. When the best suited has been chosen it should be explained as thoroughly as time permits. Other views should be dismissed with nothing more than a mention, if that.

Again, it is shallow pedagogy to leave the student with three varying opinions on the meaning of a particular pericope. Only the most unrealistic could hope that in most cases all three would remain in memory. Would it not be more sensible to use the limited class time for something else? I believe that in most of the problems in these first chapters of Genesis we can safely fix on one opinion, at least in broad outline. Details, then, can be made to fit the general view. By way of example an occasional varying opinion may be presented, but this only rarely.

This positive approach, however, should take advantage of all the latitude that the Church allows: in every case the professor should reveal in well chiseled terms, clearly and definitely, just how far a Catholic may depart from the proper literal sense of the text, and what concessions he may make to the profane sciences. In other words, the student must be made to realize that he is free to give these chapters a broad interpretation on many points, as long as he safeguards the fundamental truths they contain, those guaranteed by ecclesiastical tradition and enumerated by the Biblical Commission. Unhealthy is any conservatism tending to make the student anxious at every turn lest he somehow offend orthodoxy. The attitude that it is easy to "go off" in interpreting these chapters is unwarranted. Especially must the impression be avoided that the Church has decided points which in reality are left to the freedom of the interpreter. Otherwise in his later ministry the student will teach opinion, not fact, to the faithful: he will insist that it be accepted as part of the biblical narrative, as part of the word of God. For example—to mention points that are elementary—no priest should leave the seminary with the opinion that revelation teaches that the world was created in six days of twenty-four hours, or that Adam was created 4116 B.C., or that the tree of the knowledge of good and evil was heavy with lush apples, or that the incident of the tower of Babel accounts for the origin of the world's languages by a miraculous intervention on the part of God. We may, of course, point out that the individual may personally believe these views, but he has no right to inflict them upon others. Difficulties enough there are, with laymen versed in the natural sciences and history, without creating some that do not exist. We must insist on what is certain biblical teaching, leaving disputed and uncertain details out of the picture as much as possible.

Such a method makes it easy to dispense with extensive bibliography. Amply sufficient is a mention of one or the other outstanding work on the section. It is certainly profitable to suggest or require some supplementary reading, especially the fine articles that have appeared recently in our Catholic magazines. But all of us know that it is futile to hope that seminarians will do much collateral reading in Scripture either before or after ordination.

GENERAL APPLICATION

It must be emphasized at the outset that in the first eleven chapters of Genesis we do not have history in the accustomed sense of the word, but rather a "religious philosophy of history" or "ideal history." The latter term is borrowed from Father Junker's splendid brochure on these chapters.[4] His work offers an approach to the problems raised by these chapters that cannot be neglected without loss. In general, then, it should be noted, first that Moses' purpose in these chapters is not to give a complete outline of man's history from creation to the call of Abraham.[5] Since his purpose is strictly religious, he passes over countless facts not pertinent to his theme and shortens the time-perspective. There is, then, no difficulty in the fact that adding the chronological data of this section gives only 1948 years for the period between Adam and Abraham, whereas the profane sciences teach with practical certainty that the period must have extended upwards of 10,000 years.[6] It does not seem necessary, or even advisable, to discuss the problem of the length of time man has been on earth, much less the age of the universe. This problem is not biblical. It is surely sufficient to stress the fact that there is no contradiction on the point between the Bible's chronology and the findings of science.

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[4] H. Junker, *Die biblische Urgeschichte in ihrer Bedeutung als Grundlage der alttestamentlichen Offenbarung* (Bonn, Hanstein, 1932), p. 23. Of this work Bea says: "...etsi aliqua minus probari possunt, multa afferuntur quae apta sunt quibus problemata illius Geneseos exordii illustrentur." *Biblica,* XVI (1935), p. 453.

[5] This point is treated very convincingly by E. F. Sutcliffe, "The Ethnographical Restriction of the Flood," *Clergy Review,* XXII (1942), pp. 447 ff.

[6] A few O.T. exegetes will still insist that the natural scientists do not agree as to the time they postulate for the existence of man upon earth. Quite true: there is no agreement even within thousands of years. But certainly the conclusion cannot therefore be drawn that the biblical numbers give a correct chronology. For all admit that the minimum time required to account for the facts is more than 10,000 years, a figure that is simply irreconcilable with biblical chronology, even when we postulate gaps

It should be emphasized, in the second place, that Moses proposes to show how it happened that the one true God, the Creator of the universe and of the first man from whom all others descend, was known by the Hebrew people alone. Sin made its appearance in the fall of the first couple, extended its sway over all mankind, and culminated in the general corruption which evoked the Deluge. Noe and his family alone survived, giving mankind a new beginning, with Noe a kind of second Adam. Again, however, sin reached new heights in the rebellious design of the tower of Babel, and God abandoned mankind at large to its own resorts, choosing only Abraham of the tribe of Sem as the medium through which knowledge of the one true God was to be preserved.

At this point, before actually reading the chapters, the decrees of the Biblical Commission on Gen. 1–3 should be studied.[7] It is very helpful to recast the decrees in declarative form to break the involved sentences. Here it is extremely important to stress the nine points of Catholic teaching which our exegesis must safeguard. But equally to be stressed are the liberties which the Commission allows.

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in the genealogical tables. The exegete's attitude is well expressed by Bea, (*Verbum Domini*, XVII, 1937, p. 365) "... in eisdem primae aetatis generis humani perpetuam chronologiam non haberi. Exegetae igitur est explicationem verisimillimam quaerere, quae certis vel probabilissimis praehistoriae deductionibus non contradicat." R. Köppel, "Das Alter der Menschheit," *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXVI (1928), pp. 22-32, gives 30,000 years as the minimum figure. Of this figure Father J. J. Baierl, in his translation of W. Schmidt's *Primitive Revelation* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1939, p. 44, footnote) says: "These numbers are readily acceded to now by most Catholic scientists who have made investigations in the field." Cf. also S. Richarz, "Our Present Knowledge of Early Man," *Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXXVIII (1933), pp. 486-501; J. K. Lipman, "The Age of Man," *Thought*, IX (1934), pp. 108-122, 206-221. C. Lavergne, *Guide Pratique de Chronologie Biblique* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1937), p. 6, gives the highest figure, 500,000 years, that I have found assigned by a Catholic scholar to the age of man.

[7] The most convenient English translation is found in *Rome and the Study of Scripture* (St. Meinrad, Indiana: Abbey Press, 1943).

PARTICULAR APPLICATIONS

I. THE HEXAEMERON: Gen. 1:1–2:4a. Most texts begin by reading this pericope and explaining it verse by verse. Then the various systems of interpretation are proposed and criticized. Finally, the author draws his conclusions, often vague and unsatisfying. Among other difficulties, this plan makes it necessary to allow for divergent interpretations in the exegesis of the individual verses. For example, Simon-Prado,[8] explaining the firmament and the waters above, give both the view of Hetzenauer, who holds that the "waters above" are to be understood as vapor that condenses into rain and snow, and the natural interpretation according to which the Hebrews regarded the firmament as actually supporting water above it—the only admissible view. The only pedagogically correct procedure is for the professor to decide on the interpretation he will follow and carry it through consistently from the very start. He will, of course, rule out the strictly literal interpretation (together with concordism,[9] which should be mentioned only as an unfortunate biblical curiosity of bygone days), the allegorical interpretation, and the mythical interpretation. This leaves the interpretation followed universally today by Catholics, namely, the mixed or natural interpretation. He will, then, point out to the student that the sacred author intended to teach the fundamental truth that God is the Creator of the universe as well as of the first couple, whom He destined to be parents to the whole human race through monogamous marriage. To depict this abstract truth the author chooses a "free ideal form" (or, to use the expression of Father Gruenthaner[10] "a literary mold") whereby he pictures God as working six days and resting on the seventh. That he does not intend to give the actual sequence of events in creation is evident from the artificial plan that he adopts, the distribution of eight works in two parallel groups, the "opus distinctionis," and the "opus ornatus" of the scholastics.[11] Finally, it is necessary to show that the author's view of the universe is that of his own day—the earth a flat disc, the firmament a solid supporting the waters above, light independent of the sun and moon, and the like. Pope Leo's oft-quoted words, " . . . that the sacred writers . . . did not intend to teach men . . . the essential nature of the things of the visible universe, . . . but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, . . ."[12] should not be merely recalled here, but actually applied to the scientific difficulties often seen in the text. After the text is thus explained positively, and variant opinions avoided as much as possible, a few words might be added on the different systems—literal, ideal, and mythical—that have been proposed in the past. It should be stressed, as Feldmann shows,[13] that the system which has the best traditional backing is precisely the literal-allegorical system.

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[8] H. Simon—J. Prado, *Praelectiones Biblicae* (Turin: Marietti, Vetus Testamentum, Vol. I, 1938), p. 17. More straightforward is the explanation given by H. Lusseau—M. Collomb, *Manuel d'Études Bibliques* (Paris: Téqui, Vol. II, 1934), p. 328, who state simply that the description of the firmament is "nullement soucieuse de rigueur scientifique." In many other points, however, this manual is as faulty and confusing as that of Simon-Prado.

[9] How widespread and convenient a subterfuge concordism still proves to be may be seen from a study of non-biblical textbooks where the question is taken up. Cf. e.g., R. W. Murray, *Introductory Sociology* (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1935), p. 287; E. J. Ross, *Fundamental Sociology* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1939), p. 97. A fine example of what a popular solution should be is found in B. L. Conway, *The Question Box* (New York: Paulist Press, 1929), pp. 69 ff. For a brief and pointed refutation of concordism, cf. F. Ceuppens, *De Hexaëmeron* (Rome: Collegio Angelico, 1931), pp. 51 ff.

Whether or not the professor will wish to touch upon the so-called Babylonian parallels will depend upon the amount of time at his disposal. In any case, the actual reading of the parallels will best be done as supplementary work by the individual student. Barton's *Archaeology and the Bible*[14] is a very handy tool for this kind of work.

II. PARADISE AND THE FALL: Gen. 2:4b–3:24. Scholars are quite agreed that this account is not a creation-account in the same sense as the first, nor is it a mere continuation of the first account.[15] As in the preceding case, the professor will adopt a system of interpretation and carry it through consistently.

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[10] M. Gruenthaner, "Enuma Elis and the Hexaëmeron," *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, XXXIX (1939), p. 1059.

[11] An excellent treatment of this point is found in F. A. Tondorf, "Genesis and the Creation of the World," *Thought*, IV (1930), pp. 599-623.

[12] *Rome and the Study of Scripture*, p. 18.

[13] J. Feldmann, *Paradies und Sündenfall* (Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen, IV; Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1913), pp. 501 ff.

[14] G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible* (7th ed., Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union, 1937). No clearer and more concise study of the "Enuma Elis" and its relation to the Hexaëmeron will be found than Father Gruenthaner's, cited above. Cf. also J. E. Steinmueller, *Some Problems of the Old Testament* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1936), pp. 12 ff.

The Creation of Man: Gen. 2:4-7 may be interpreted as "an artistic dramatic picturization of an idea,"[16] which does not intend to describe the external happening of man's creation, but rather intends to show "as what" God created man. It therefore gives not the "quomodo" of man's creation, but the "quid," i.e., that man was created by God as a composite being of body and soul.

The Trees: The Biblical Commission does not require us to take the trees of life and of the knowledge of good and evil as objective realities. Accordingly, allowance should be made for the view which regards the trees merely as a symbolic manner of showing that man was destined for immortality both of soul and body, the latter being contingent upon his obedience to God's command. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil may be understood to indicate that the trial of man's obedience consisted in a restriction upon his knowledge. The sin, then, would have been an inordinate striving for knowledge beyond the limits set by God.[17]

The Situation of Paradise is a point that tempts the erudition of the biblical student, but is certainly secondary. It should be dismissed with a few words as having only an antiquarian interest.[18]

The Creation of Eve: Gen. 2:21-24 describes the creation of the first woman in such wise as to emphasize her close union with Adam in marriage. Since a satisfactory explanation of the "rib" has hardly been offered, that problem will have to be dismissed with the negative remark that we need not hold that God actually took a rib from Adam to form Eve.[19] On the other hand, in view of the express wording of the Biblical Commission and the strong patristic tradition,[20] we must safeguard the fact that Eve was somehow formed from Adam. This precise fact creates an unfordable gap between our so-called moderate evolution and evolution as science proposes it, with its postulate of a plurality of pairs evolving from lower forms.

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[15] Cf. Tondorf, *loc. cit.*, p. 601.

[16] Junker, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 f.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 44 ff.

[18] Cf. F. Feldmann, *Geschichte der Offenbarung des alten Testaments* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1930), p. 15, for a good example of the brevity with which the question may be treated; also Steinmueller, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-55.

[19] Junker, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-44, while holding the "formatio mulieris ex primo homine," suggests that the description is, like that of the creation of man, a dramatic representation of the idea of man's social nature. He points out that in Sumerian the same ideogram "TI(L)" has the meaning "life"

The Serpent: At first sight the Biblical Commission would seem to insist that we hold the objective reality of the serpent as the instrument of the devil in tempting Eve. But a close examination of the words of the Commission apparently leaves room for a merely symbolic interpretation. Among the truths mentioned by the Commission is "the transgression of the divine precept at the instigation of the devil under the form of a serpent." We are accustomed to translate *species* as *objective appearance* or *form.* The word has, however, a wider variety of meanings, and is often used in the sense of *mental image, idea,* or *notion,* or again, in a quite general sense of *likeness.* Hence we could translate the Commission's words "at the instigation of the serpent-like devil."[21] In any case, the Commission wants to emphasize the reality of the diabolical temptation rather than the form that the devil took, if any. The insistence upon the reality of the serpent involves the text in difficulties which may well be avoided.[22] Here, again, it would seem preferable to tell the student simply that only the reality of the tempter, not his visible form, is the certain teaching of the narrative.

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and "rib," a possible clue to the precise choice of the "rib" from which the sacred author depicts God's creating Eve.

[20] Cf. T. J. Motherway, "The Creation of Eve in Catholic Tradition," *Theological Studies*, I (1940), pp. 97 ff.

[21] Examples of this use of the word *species* may be found in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 685: "...inque chori ludunt speciem"; XV, 509: "...in montis speciem curvari"; Pliny, *His. Nat.*, XI, xxv, 30: "...scorpiones vermiculos ovorum specie pariunt." If the Commission had intended "under the appearance of a serpent" as the only legitimate sense, they might readily have done so by substituting *forma* or *figura* for *specie.*

[22] In his recent article, "The Fall and Its Consequences," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, III (1941), p. 229, Father J. J. Dougherty states that the view which "considers the serpent 'a symbolic appearance of the immaterial evil principle' (Hoberg), that is, a mere symbol, seems to be irreconcilable with the subsequent decree of the Biblical Commission, 'diabolo sub serpentis specie suasore.'" As just shown, the wording of the Commission seems to leave room for the symbolic interpretation. Certainly the Commission's emphasis is upon the reality of the tempter, not upon his form.

The Protoevangelium: Gen. 3:15 should be treated carefully and in some detail, unless its treatment is reserved for a special course on the Messianic prophecies. It is the first Messianic prophecy of the O.T., the beginning of one of the two threads (the other, monotheism) which any course in O.T. history must trace definitely throughout.[23] The two recent articles by Father Peirce[24] demonstrate quite conclusively that Mary is the only woman meant in the text. We can, therefore, concentrate our attention upon his interpretation and dismiss the others with a passing mention.

III. THE GENEALOGIES: Gen. 4:17-22 is the first of the genealogies of this section and brings the student face to face with the problem of the longevity of the patriarchs. The most satisfactory solution of the problems raised by the genealogies is certainly the hypothesis of implicit citation,[25] according to which the genealogies are quoted by the sacred author from traditional data and introduced to emphasize the unity of the human race. If this hypothesis be correct, the genealogies are not guaranteed in all details, and hence the student is not embarrassed by the ages assigned to the patriarchs.

IV. THE DOUBLE ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE: The simplest way to explain the inconsistencies and contradictions that we meet in Gen. 6:5–8:19 is by the hypothesis of a double account:[26] two traditions were unskillfully combined by a redactor. It is sufficient to call the student's attention merely to one or two facts that point to this conclusion. It should be emphasized that the two traditions agree in essentials and that only the original work of Moses is guaranteed by divine inspiration.

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[23] Cf. Coppens, *op. cit.*, p. 29: "Celle-ci (sacred history) ... sera orientée entièrement vers le Nouveau Testament. Il faudra donc qu'elle mette en lumière les vérités par lesquelles la révélation du Nouveau Testament a fait son entrée dans le monde: la croyance monothéiste avec ses deux principaux corollaires: l'apostolat missionnaire et la ferveur mystique, les croyances et les espérances messianiques, les visions d'avenir et d'outretombe."

[24] F. X. Peirce, "The Woman of Genesis 3:15," *Ecclesiastical Review*, CIII (1940), pp. 94 ff.; *id.*, "Mary Alone Is 'the Woman' of Genesis 3:15," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, II (1940), pp. 245 ff. A thorough treatment of the text will be found in F. Ceuppens, *De Proto-Evangelio* (Rome: Collegio Angelico, 1932). He defends the view that the woman in the literal sense is Eve; in the spiritual sense, Mary.

[25] Cf. Feldmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 26; Junker, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-28; P. Heinisch, *Das Buch Genesis* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1930), pp. 159, 193 ff., 205 ff.

[26] Cf. F. Ceuppens, *De Historia Primaeva* (Rome: Collegio Angelico, 1934), pp. 307-313; Heinisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 ff.; F. Feldmann, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Junker, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

The main question of the deluge is its universality.[27] Its geographical universality can be summarily dismissed with stress upon the fact that we need not hold even its anthropological universality, since the sacred author's knowledge of the extent of the human race was necessarily limited by his restricted geographical outlook.

The blessing of Sem (Gen. 9:25-27) permits us to take up the thread of Messianism that began with the Proto-evangelium.

V. THE TABLE OF NATIONS: Gen. 10 serves as a handy introduction to the political background of the Chosen People. Albright[28] has shown that it gives a picture of the Oriental world of the tenth century, so that if the table is Moses' work it must have been modernized by a later redactor. In any case, it is useless to probe the question of whether the table really gives the descendants of Noe or not, together with all the intricacies involved in that contention. Far simpler is it to point out that it is not a genealogy in the strict sense, but rather a geographical and political map of the world, which the sacred author inserted into his narrative to show the common origin and unity of all nations.[29]

VI. THE TOWER OF BABEL: Gen. 11:1-9 has peculiar difficulties. The idea that it explains the diversity of languages in the world by a miraculous intervention of God has taken quite a hold upon Catholics. First, then, we must show the improbability of this interpretation by pointing out that linguistic science knows only of a gradual development of languages, not of any sudden appearance of different types. It can then be demonstrated that the account does not preclude a gradual evolution of language, since the biblical authors often attribute to God directly what He effects by secondary causes.[30]

Much is to be said in favor of Junker's interpretation.[31] He envisions this incident as the conclusion of the general theme that runs through those chapters: that sin has estranged mankind from God. Specifically, the narrative shows by a dramatic picturization how God has placed in the very nature of man limits to check his ambition for power. The typical example is Babylon. As in the creation of man (Gen. 2:7), the sacred author takes a condition of things that he finds actually existing, the polyglot character of Babylon, to portray God as bringing about this state of things by a direct intervention. The text, then, would not explain how the various languages of mankind came into existence, but rather for what purpose God has intended and uses this tendency to diversity. There are forces in the very nature of man that effectively forestall every grandiose ambition for world empire.

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[27] Cf. Sutcliffe, *loc. cit.*, pp. 442 ff.

[28] W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 191.

[29] Cf. Heinisch, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 202; Steinmueller, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[31] *Op. cit.*, pp. 51-57.

With the incident of the tower of Babel, biblical pre-history ends, and with the call of Abraham we enter a world that is well known through the sciences of history and archeology. Attention should be called to this fact. While we cannot control most of the events of Genesis directly by extra-biblical documents, we have an indirect control in the background, the political and social life presupposed in the biblical narratives about the patriarchs. Quite recently Albright[32] has shown that archeology affords proof of the trustworthiness of the patriarchal narratives. But we have no such control for the first chapters of Genesis. Nor have we as yet satisfactorily dovetailed the events there narrated with the outlines of pre-history presented by the profane sciences. Hence while we rightly insist on the objectivity of the facts, we cannot call them "historical" in the sense that they are known like other facts of history. Our only source of knowledge is the inspired word itself.

In closing the brochure quoted in this paper, Father Junker anticipates an objection: once we deny the strict historical character of certain details in the historical books of the Bible, do we not compromise the truth of the Bible in its entirety? How can it be ascertained whether a narrative is strict history or a free literary form? He answers by quoting the Biblical Commission which expressly permits our departing from the literal sense when "reason or necessity compel."[33] He goes on to show that the objection starts from the Protestant view of the self-sufficiency of the Bible. It loses weight and force entirely from the

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[32] *Op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.

[33] *Op. cit.*, pp. 57 f.

Catholic view, which teaches that the Church is the divinely appointed interpreter of the Bible. She grants great freedom to Catholic scholars, but whenever necessary, will come forth with an authentic decision that will restrain the Catholic from error.

The seminary Scripture professor ought to make full use of this liberty, not to indulge his own speculations and views, but to give his students a dignified interpretation of these difficult passages. We must not make the Scriptures more difficult than they really are. Toward the close of the *Providentissimus* Pope Leo observes:

> Moreover, the bitter tongues of objectors will be silenced or at least they will not dare to insist so shamelessly that faith is the enemy of science, when they see that scientific men of eminence in their profession show towards faith the most marked honor and respect.

The same effect may also be obtained, perhaps, if men of faith, those especially whose charge it is to instruct others in the faith, show science "marked honor and respect" to this extent at least that they will not create contradictions between the Bible and science that do not exist.

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STAFF OR NO STAFF?

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In view of our thesis on the universal extent of inspiration and the absoluteness of biblical inerracy, Catholic exegetes are not free to pass over apparent contradictions in the sacred text without some attempt at explanation. For this reason the familiar case of St. Mark's "staff" and St. Matthew's "no staff" calls for consideration.

First, we present a brief statement of the problem. In recording our Lord's instructions to His Apostles before their first mission, St. Matthew casts the words of Christ in this form, "Do not keep gold, or silver . . . nor sandals, *nor staff*" (10:10). Contrarywise, St. Mark reports the same injunction in these words, "And he instructed them to take nothing for their journey, *but a staff only*" (6:8). The two reports seem to involve a striking contradiction. According to St. Matthew, the Apostles were not to possess a staff; according to St. Mark, they were free to do so. St. Luke's account (9:3) is in substantial agreement with St. Matthew.

These texts have long presented a difficulty for students of the Bible. The seeming contradiction between them is, indeed, a real problem since, even in the original texts, the first passage simply denies the second. Thus, in St. Matthew we read: *Μὴ κτήσησθε χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον... μηδέ ὑποδήματα μηδὲ ῥάβδον.* In St. Mark, on the other hand, this prohibition is converted into a positive permission: *Καὶ παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδὲν αἴρωσιν εἰς ὁδὸν εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον·*

Many solutions have been offered to explain away this difficulty; yet all of these may be conveniently grouped into two classes. The first class includes all explanations which attempt to bring St. Matthew and St. Mark into strict verbal harmony with each other. The other class contains those explanations which are content to bring the conflicting texts into mere conceptual harmony. In this study we will present an obective statement of the typical forms in which each of these two kinds of solution finds expression. We will conclude with a critical estimate of their value.

I. SOLUTIONS WHICH AIM AT VERBAL HARMONIZATION

These explanations attempt not merely to reconcile the thought of the two passages, but even to harmonize the verbal discrepancy. In general, they secure this harmony either by a correction of the text or by a double interpretation of the two commands.

1. Father Powers, S.J.,[1] has attempted to explain the difficulty by presenting the solution originally proposed by Tatian and St. Ephrem. The prohibition of the staff by St. Matthew, he says, had reference only to a short, heavy cudgel which the Orientals used in self-defense against robbers and wild beasts. On the other hand, the staff permitted by St. Mark was merely the ordinary walking stick, so necessary for anyone journeying over the rough ways of Palestine. Father Powers bases this assertion on the fact that the term *ῥάβδος* was used indiscriminately to designate either the inoffensive walking stick of the Palestinian shepherd or the heavy club which he always carried to protect himself and his flock against the attack of marauders. The acceptance of this philological distinction would dissolve the contradiction, since, according to this suggestion, the double use of *ῥάβδος* would not refer to the same object.

2. St. Augustine[2] tries to secure an absolute verbal harmonization in a similar way. He does so by conjecturing this equivalent rendition of Christ's words: "Take with you none of the necessaries of life, neither a staff, save a staff only." Thus, he refers the *ῥάβδον* of both texts to two different objects. In St. Matthew's account the staff is to be understood in a proper literal sense. Contrariwise, in St. Mark the staff must be understood in a metaphorical sense as referring to the authority or power which the Apostles received from Christ to seek support from the faithful. This solution is ingenious, though not altogether satisfying to the student of literal exegesis.

3. Charles Burney[3] has suggested that the divergence between the command of Mark 6:8 to take nothing for the journey except a staff only, and Matthew 10:10, Luke 9:3, which specify *no* staff, is probably due to the fact that Matthew's Greek translator misread the Aramaic אלא, 'but,' as ולא, 'and not,' i.e., 'not even,' which is not unnatural in view of the repeated לא, 'not,' in the list of forbidden articles.

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[1] Edmund Powers, S.J., *Biblica*, IV (1923), pp. 241 ff.

[2] Augustine, *De Consensu* Evang. II, 30; MPL 34, 1114. Eng. tr. by S. Salmond (Edinburgh, 1873), p. 280.

[3] C. F. Burney, *The Poetry of our Lord* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 121.

4. Father Fillion, S.S.,[4] and Father Knabenbauer, S.J.,[5] have alluded, though without approval, to another possible solution. This is the suggestion that the prohibition of St. Matthew was directed against the accumulation of several staffs, while the permission of St. Mark's account was given for a single staff. The solution is based on a variant reading which is found in several of the early manuscripts (CEFGKW). This reading presents the plural form *ῥάβδους* for the text of St. Matthew and the singular form *ῥάβδον* for the text of St. Mark. A congruous reconstruction on the basis of this reading would serve to soften the strident disagreement between the two texts.

5. Cardinal Lepicier[6] has sought a strict verbal harmonization of the conflicting passages by a careful comparison of the verbs which are used in the two texts. He contrasts the verb used by St. Matthew (*κτήσηθε*) with that employed by St. Mark (*αἴρωσιν*). The primary notion of the first verb is that of *acquisition;* the primary concept of the second is that of *retention.* Accordingly, he reconstructs the contrasts between the two passages and thus shows that they are not in opposition to each other. In St. Matthew's account, Cardinal Lepicier observes, our Lord forbade the Apostles to secure a staff if they did not have one; in St. Mark, on the other hand, He gave them permission to retain the staff which they already had in their possession. This same solution is accepted by Father Fouard,[7] who so translates the texts that each dovetails into the other in a sound explanation of the thought of Christ: "Do not purchase a staff—let that which you have in your hand suffice you."

6. The recent New Testament commentary[8] seems to follow this same manner of explanation, for it comments on the passage in St. Matthew as follows: "Therefore they are not to acquire for themselves before the journey an extra tunic or an extra pair of sandals or an extra staff." The implication of this comment is that Christ forbade the Apostles to seek a superfluous staff,

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[4] L. Fillion, S.S., *Evang. selon S. Matthieu* (La Sainte Bible; Paris, 1878), p. 201.

[5] I. Knabenbauer, S.J., *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum,* p. 384.

[6] A. Lepicier, O. S. M., *Diatesseron* II (Rome, 1924), p. 127.

[7] C. Fouard, *The Christ the Son of God.* Eng. tr. from 5th French ed. by George Griffith (New York, 1891), I, p. 325 n.

[8] C.B.A., *A Commentary on the New Testament* (New Yoark, 1942), 78.

whereas St. Mark records His permission that the Apostles retain the staff which they already had.

II. SOLUTIONS WHICH AIM AT CONCEPTIONAL HARMONIZATION ALONE.

The solutions which are contained in this second class do not attempt to secure strict verbal agreement, but rather the reconciliation of thought content only. This endeavor is based on the principle enuntiated by St. Augustine.[9]

> It is therefore a useful principle, and one particularly worthy of being borne in mind, when we are speaking of the concord of the evangelists, that there is no divergence (to be supposed) from the truth, even when they introduce some saying different from what was actually uttered by the person concerning whom the narrative is given, provided that, notwithstanding this, they set forth as his mind precisely what is also conveyed by that one among them who reproduces the words as they were literally spoken. For thus we learn the salutary lesson, that our aim should be nothing else than to ascertain what is the mind and intention of the person who speaks.

It is Maldonatus[10] who has applied this principle to solve the present difficulty. His solution is expressed in the following words: "Each evangelist in contrary words aptly expressed the same meaning. For each, setting forth, not Christ's words, but His meaning, wished to signify that Christ had charged the Apostles not to have anything beyond what was necessary for present use." Father Lagrange, O.P.,[11] Father Crampon,[12] and Father Fillion,[13] although they list the other solutions, prefer that of Maldonatus as the most simple and the best explanation.

These authors contend that the sacred writers were not bound to a full presentation of the exact words of Christ, but only to the exact representation of his thought. In the present instance, according to them, Christ intended to recommend complete poverty and detachment for the apostolic missionary. This thought, these exegetes maintain, has found faithful and exact expression both in the account of St. Matthew and in that of St. Mark. For, whereas the first expresses Christ's recommendation of poverty by denying to the Apostles even the use of a staff, St. Mark, on the other hand, represents this recommendation quite as exactly by permitting to the apostolic laborer the possession of a staff, which was always the mark of a poor man—his sole and unique possession.

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[9] Augustine, *De Consensu Evang.* II, 12; MPL 34, 1092. Tr. by Salmond, p. 235.

[10] J. Maldonatus, S.J., *Comm. in Quat. Evangelistas,* ed. by C. Martin (Mayence, 1862), I, p. 149.

[11] M. J. Lagrange, O.P., *Evangile selon S. Marc* (Paris, 1929), 151.

[12] Aug. Crampon, *La Sainte Bible,* VI (Paris, 1904), 143.

[13] L. Fillion, S.S., *op. cit.,* 201.

III. CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF SOLUTIONS

In explaining the conflict of these texts, I think that any one of the plausible solutions of the first class is to be preferred to the mere conceptual harmonization of Maldonatus.

It is true that the Evangelists were not bound to present a full, word for word copy of the discourses which they record: in most instances, indeed, they have chosen to abbreviate and to summarize. It is true, also, as Father Lagrange has pointed out, that the origin of our Gospels from a previous oral tradition could easily result in a merely substantial agreement with the words really uttered by Christ. This concession does not run counter to the doctrine of biblical inerrancy, since, as all admit, the intention of the writer, either to quote in full or to give the mere thought content, is the sole determinant of the degree of fidelity to the original discourse which the exegete may expect to find. In fact, a consistent disregard of this accepted principle of hermeneutics would render impossible a sound and sane exegesis of many texts in Sacred Scripture.

However, this principle of conceptual harmonization may not be used freely. Rather, its application is bound by narrow restriction, lest it be pushed to the point of false interpretation, as happened in the Modernist exegesis of the discourses recorded by St. John. Only when it is highly probable that the sacred writer intended to present merely the substance of Christ's thought, are we free to invoke the expedient of conceptual harmonization. Thus, traditional Catholic exegesis has ever striven to find in the Sacred Books a faithful record of the words and deeds narrated; always it has accorded solid presumption to the literaly fidelity of the sacred writer. Indeed, it is significant that St. Augustine's loose-bound device of conceptual harmonization holds a last place in his use of the principles of interpretation.[14] An expedient to be used when all else fails—this, I believe, is a correct estimate of its value: an estimate which is in strict accord with our understanding of inspiration. For this supernatural action of God not merely touched the human faculties of imagination, memory, and intellect; above all, it strengthened them with divine power and illumined them in a flood of divine light.

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[14] Augustine, *De Consensu Evang.* II, 12; MPL 34, 1091 ff.

Therefore, an explanation of the present difficulty on the basis of this principle seems unwarranted. For the conjectural explanation of Maldonatus is not the only plausible solution which has been offered. As we have seen, there are other satisfactory explanations, which not only reconcile the thought of the two passages, but secure also a harmonization of their words. I believe that an interpretation, which achieves this twofold object, is always preferable.

Passionist Monastery
Chicago, Illinois

MISSAL EPISTLES FROM ROMANS

Rev. Joseph L. Lilly, C.M., S.T.D., S.S.L.

The following passage is the epistle for the first Sunday after Epiphany:

12:1 I exhort you therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God,
to present your bodies as a sacrifice, living, holy, pleas-
2 ing to God—your spiritual service. And be not con-
formed to this world, but be transformed in the new-
ness of your mind, that you may discern what is the
good and acceptable and perfect will of God.
3 By the grace that has been given to me, I say to each
one among you: let no one rate himself more than he
ought, but let him rate himself according to moderation,
and according as God has appointed to each one the
4 measure of faith. For just as in one body we have
many members, yet all the members have not the same
5 function, | so we, the many, are one body in Christ,
but severally members one of another.

The above passage may be outlined as follows:

1. General Recommendation for the Christian as an Individual.
    a. The Christian's basic duty as regards his body—to offer it a sacrifice to God.
    b. The Christian's basic duty as regards the mind—to conform it to the mind of Christ.
2. Result of this Recommendation—discernment of God's will.
3. Specific Recommendation for the Christian as a Member of a Corporate Entity: The Christian's basic duty as a member of Christ's mystical body—to know his place and keep it.

This passage opens a new section of the Epistle to the Romans. Up to this point the apostle has treated the doctrinal matter of justification with an occasional practical application to the individual's life as a Christian. Then he discussed the problem of Israel's rejection, which is temporary and will come to an end as soon as they bow in faith to Jesus Christ. St. Paul predicts the final conversion of the Jews. In the realization of this prophecy God's mercy will ultimately triumph. It is on this note that St. Paul concludes the doctrinal part of the epistle to the Romans.

The passage under consideration begins the moral section, in which the apostle discusses various duties of Christians. The opening words are a general consequence flowing out of the doctrine, and stating the basic duty of the Christian life—to present one's body as a sacrifice to God, and be transformed in mental outlook by abandoning the spirit and ideals of the world and in their stead substituting the spirit and ideals of Jesus Christ. Thus in the opening paragraph St. Paul states the whole duty of the Christian as an individual both in regard to the material and the spiritual elements of his composite nature.

I exhort you therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God. In the immediately preceding passage the apostle states that *God has shut up all,* both Jews and Gentiles, *in unbelief, that he may have* mercy on all (11:32). St. Paul now appeals to that same mercy, or better according to the Greek text to the various acts of divine mercy of which the Christian has been the recipient. These acts of mercy include the entire work of redemption and the application of its fruits to the souls of men. These acts of God's generous pity afford the best possible basis for the apostle's appeal to Christians to consecrate themselves entirely to the good God who has extended such extraordinary mercies to them. It is a duty of gratitude, but also of justice as well.

I exhort you does not mean that the apostle has not the authority to command what he here recommends. Nor is there any question here of counsel as distinguished from precept. What the apostle here urges is not a matter of counsel. He uses the term *exhort,* because an exhortation, coming from one of recognized authority, adds to the statement of duty an appeal to sentiment as well. The Roman Christians were well aware of their duty; their Christian faith had imposed it on them and enlightened them concerning it.

To present your bodies as a sacrifice: St. Paul employs sacrificial terminology. St. John Chrysostom explains well how the Christian is to present his body as a sacrifice:

> Let the eye look on nothing evil and it is a sacrifice; let the tongue speak nothing inept and it is an oblation; let the hand do nothing wicked and it is a holocaust. But this is not enough. It is necessary to perform good deeds—that the hand dispense alms, that the mouth bless those who speak ill of us, that the ear be given to listening to discourses about divine things.

The same thought—sacrificing the body to God—St. Paul expresses elsewhere in different words: *yield your members as slaves of justice unto sanctification* (Rom. 6:20).

St. Paul does not complete the analogy, but if he did he would say that the person of the Christian is the priest as his body is the victim to be immolated. St. John Chrysostom completes the analogy when in his homily on this passage he exhorts his hearers to minister to God and offer sacrifice throughout their entire lives. "This you will do if you offer sacrifice daily and act as the priest of your own body."

Living, holy, pleasing to God. Every sacrificial victim must be living; it is precisely its life that is offered to God. Every sacrificial victim must be holy, that is, without blemish or defect. And if the victim offered to God according to the Mosaic Law measured up to these requirements it was acceptable to God. The Christian, however, by reason of his incorporation into Christ takes on the new life of grace, far more precious than the physical life of the Old Testament victims, and he is sanctified by the grace of Christ, and consequently his body thus immolated in Christian living by complete consecration and dedication of all its members to the service of God becomes a holy sacrifice, acceptable to God.

Your spiritual service: This phrase, all agree, is in apposition to the sacrifice just described. But all do not agree on the meaning *spiritual.* The Greek term may be also translated *reasonable.* Good authorities favor each of these renderings. The Vulgate has *rationabile* (reasonable); the Confraternity revisor preferred *spiritual. Reasonable,* which we prefer, means that what St. Paul has just required of the Christian is the kind of divine worship dictated by right reason as opposed to the ancient worship which was too often satisfied with offering to the Almighty an animal victim and gave little attention to the worship which God most desired, namely a contrite and humble heart (Ps. 50:19) and a life conformed to the will of God (Ps. 40:7-9). Reason dictates such a dedication of one's whole exterior activity to God in accord with His will. *Spiritual* means a worship that has its origin in the mind in contrast to a purely external worship. Too often the Jews of old thought that the mere offering of a corporeal victim without the corresponding immolation of self in holy living was sufficient to win the divine approval. (Cf. Isa. 1:10-20.) May we not reasonably suspect that the Jews whom Isaias so vehemently condemns for such a purely external worship have their counterpart in some present day Catholics who think that by the mere outward assistance at the sacrifice of the Mass with little or no effort at moral reformation they are doing all that is required to escape the wrath to come? Such is a merely external or bodily worship; if the sentiments of the mind correspond to the external sacrifice, then the worship becomes *spiritual.*[1]

And be not conformed to this world. The world here designates those men who are controled by the spirit of the world which consists in *the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life* (1 John 2:16). The man who is dominated by these is the worldling in the biblical sense. It is against this spirit that the apostle warns, and in doing so he uses a word that expresses the fleeting, flimsy, momentary character of the world and all it has to offer. As St. John Chrysostom says:

> The fashion of the world[2] crawls on the ground, is vile, fleeting, not sublime, not lasting, lacks substance, for example riches, glory, bodily beauty, sense pleasure, These are only a shadow, not lasting realities.

The apostle would have the Christian avoid taking on the worldling's manner and way of life. He must not think as does the worldling, nor seek, nor desire what the worldling seeks and desires. On the contrary the apostle directs:

Be transformed in the newness of your mind. Here again a word is used that expresses more than its nearest English equivalent. St. John Chrysostom comments on it:

> He says not *change the fashion* but *be transformed,* to show that the world's ways are a fashion, but virtue not a fashion but a real *form* with an inherent beauty of its own, which does not need the deceits and fashions of outward things, which fade away as soon as they appear, For all these things disintegrate even before they come into being. If then thou wilt discard the fashion, thou wilt forthwith acquire the form.[3]

Mind here designates the practical reason, the principle of sound judgment, which however, although it can of itself see the folly of sin, cannot overcome it without the grace of God (Rom. 7:23-24). The means of effecting and maintaining this inner transformation is the constant renewal of the mind or practical judgment. St. Thomas explains:

> The apostle admonishes us to be transformed, i. e. take again to ourselves that form and beauty of mind which our mind had in Adam before the fall. This is done by the grace of the Holy Spirit. All should have the desire of participating in that grace so that those who

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[1] For the arguments in favor of each opinion cf. Lagrange and Cornely on Romans *ad loc.*

[2] The Greek word is σχῆμα as contrasted with μορφή.

[3] The two words here contrasted are μεταμορφοῦσθε and συσχηματίζεσθε.

have not yet received it may acquire it, and those who have attained it way make progress in it.

Since the effects of original sin remain even after the introduction of sanctifying grace—darkness of the mind, weakness of the will and concupiscence—there is need of constant effort to deepen and strengthen our perception of supernatural truth, and to fortify still further our weakened wills by using the means of grace.

The result of this constant effort at renewal of mind is that *We may discern what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God.* First, be it noted that this rendering which follows the Vulgate, while it is grammatically in accord with the Greek, is not the only possible rendering. The other translation, which is favored by most commentators, regards these three adjectives as substantives, in apposition to *the will of God,* and descriptive of what it decrees. This is always morally good, and is therefore acceptable to God. It is also relatively perfect, i.e. the best thing in view of the particular ends God has in view.

It is not always easy even for the saint accurately and certainly to discern what may be the will of God in specific matters. Origen, after recommending as a means to this end the study of Sacred Scripture, goes on to say that:

> Unless our mind be recalled to all knowledge and enlightened by the wisdom of God, it cannot discern what is the will of God. In many cases something is thought to be the will of God, yet is not. For it is not given to every mind, but only to the mind that is thoroughly renewed and so to speak transformed into the image of God, to discern in all things—in what we do, speak and think—whether it is the will of God, and to do, speak and think nothing at all out of harmony with the divine will.

The apostle here emphasizes the importance of having right mental attitudes, and condemns that school of superficial thinkers who contend that what a man believes is of little or no consequence; that it is action that counts. But right action depends on the dispositions of the mind. As St. Thomas says:

> Just as a man whose sense of taste is vitiated has a distorted judgment on flavors, so that he sometimes abominates what is agreeable and desires what is abominable, but he whose taste is sound has a correct estimation of flavors; so a man whose affection is corrupt, being conformed to worldly things, has a distorted judgment on moral good. But he who has a sound affection because his mind is renewed by grace, has a correct judgment on moral good.

Passing to a consideration of the Christian's duties as a member of a corporate entity, the Church, St. Paul first urges that each one occupy with becoming modesty the place in the body of Christ which has been assigned to him and discharge its functions with fidelity.

By the grace of God that has been given to me, I say to each one among you. St. Paul appeals to his authority as an apostle. This he styles *grace.* It is necessary that he speak authoritatively, for the direction he is about to give is most important for the well being, good order and smooth functioning of the entire Church. He addresses each individual member of the church at Rome, for each had some role or another, humble and obscure though it may have been, to play in the body of Christ, and the harmonious operation of the entire organization depended on each one recognizing that role and adhering to it exactly. The advice he gives is:

Let no one rate himself more than he ought, but let him rate himself according to moderation, and according as God has appointed to each one the measure of faith. St. Paul here gives a specific instance where the transformation effected through the mind's renovation by grace is to find particular expression, namely in a sober estimate of one's endowments. This is the prerequisite for each individual to remain in and discharge faithfully and perseveringly his appointed task in the body of Christ. Discontent resulting from an overestimate of one's qualifications naturally leads to negligent, unsatisfactory work, and tends to promote disunion and impede the harmonious action of the entire body.

A standard for determining this moderate estimate of one's endowments is God's appointed measure of faith, i.e., all those gifts and graces of office which are imparted to the various members of Christ's body either with or as a result of the basic gift of faith. St. Paul mentions some of these gifts in one or another passage, and by putting them all together we can arrive at a fairly complete list. Some are mentioned in the immediate context, Rom. 12:6-8; others in 1 Cor. 12:7-11; others in Eph. 4:11.

St. Paul motivates this charge that each keep his place by appealing to a doctrine dear to his heart and which he develops at length elsewhere (1 Cor. 12:4-31), the doctrine of the mystical body:

For just as in one body we have many members, yet all the members have not the same function, so we, the many, are one body in Christ, but severally members one of another. The analogy is too obvious to call for explanation. As in the human body each member is more or less dependent on the other, and the whole organism is well ordered as long as each member performs its appointed function, so too is it in that supernatural organization, the Church. The failure of any one member do his part impairs more or less the effectiveness of the entire body. In the supernatural solidarity of the mystical body, no one can correctly regard himself as an isolated individual. Individualism has no place in the genuine Christian, who is necessarily a member of a corporate entity, and his own well being as also that of the whole body depends on his recognizing his place and duties in that body and acting accordingly.

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OBSCURITIES IN THE LATIN PSALTER

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XIX

120. Psalm 118:70a. (Sunday, at Terce.)

Coagulatum est sicut lac cor eorum.

LXX seems to have had the same Hebrew consonants which we meet in MT, but faced a choice between two nouns differing only in vowels, and selected "milk" instead of "fat." Jerome's version chooses better: *Incrassatum est velut adeps cor eorum.* We saw in Ps. 16:10 (*adipem suum concluserunt*)[1] that this word "fat" sometimes serves metonymically for the diaphragm or midriff of the human body. In this passage either the figurative or the proper meaning answers equally well as a term of comparison.

In Old Testament psychology the heart is the predominant interior self or characteristic disposition; not the seat of the affections, but rather of decision. Consequently a "thick" or "heavy" or "gross" heart denotes moral obduracy, as though conscience were less mobile because congealed. (After all, we speak of a "hard heart" in somewhat the same way, though with more inclination to want of sympathy.) Thus, in a long series of passages from Ex 4 to 11 inclusive, Pharaoh's obstinacy is described as due to a heart which is sometimes "firm," sometimes "severe," sometimes "heavy." Isaias (6:10) is warned that his mission will be largely futile by the solemn charge "Make the heart of this people fat." In our passage still another word appears, the verb "to be gross," as it were in physical character or consistency. Thus we may read,

Their heart is gross, like fat.

121. Psalm 118:83a. (Sunday, at Sext.)

Quia factus sum *sicut uter in pruina.*

In all the versions (but most expressly in MT) *uter* denotes the bag or bottle of goat's hide which, even in modern Palestine, is a common receptacle of water, wine, oil or any other liquid. Nothing in this passage suggests whether the skin is empty, whether it contains liquid, or of what kind. The vessel would seem to be the worse for its situation, but the force of the description escapes us.

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[1] *CBQ* I, p. 243.

This increases uncertainty about the original of *in pruina.* LXX has the skin "in hoar frost" or "rime," and Vulgate follows. Symmachus and the Syriac, going further, place it in severe "cold," while Jerome's version returns to *pruina,* although by his time another reading was known. For MT has "in dense smoke" as of a furnace, using a peculiar word which occurs only four times in all; and this could not be later than the first century, since the Targums expand it, while Quinta simply agrees with MT. Aquila stands between the two readings with "in vapor" or "mist," which inclines rather to smoke than frost, since it carries no implication of temperature.

To reconcile "smoke" with "frost" in the condensed Hebrew script of LXX times demands the omission or the transposition of one letter. Which was original would be easier to decide if the significance of either were clearer. Dense smoke would blacken a skin, but warm it; frost would contract and wrinkle it by chilling. Those who understand a wineskin deliberately hung beneath a smoke-vent in order to mature its contents, must both assume the skin to contain wine, and also assume a Roman practice not known to have been in vogue in Palestine. Others suppose the skin "in smoke" or "in frost" because already worthless for liquid contents and thrown out of doors; they observe that objects partly useless are hung about the walls of Palestinian dwellings, where they are accidentally exposed to the thin stratum of smoke that accumulates near the ceiling. But for this mere murk the word here used for smoke is much too strong; and the skin's situation seems to be stressed on its own account, whereas its rejection could be expressed more simply and directly. This objection applies even more strongly to frost or cold as merely describing a place out of doors, and true of such a situation only for a limited season of the year. Each of the authors on whom we habitually rely faces one or another of these objections to his explanation.

Power,[2] who agrees with nearly all moderns in reading "dense smoke," after thoroughly considering all of these points, suggests that the situation of the skin-flask may be an exaggeration suggested by a figurative reference to a sallow complexion, and no literal allusion to familiar practice. The verse actually marks a climax in the Psalmist's long endurance of persecution. As in 81 his soul faints with longing for deliverance, and in 82 his watching eyes grow weary, so in 83 the very "skin" of his spirit, the index of its health, is parched as if by smoke arising from the fire of oppression. This explanation is plausibly developed, and at least avoids the radical objections which confront the more literal explanations. Whatever the real force of the allusion, the correct reading seems to be

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[2] *Biblica,* VII, pp. 187-192.

For I have become *like skin in a dense smoke.*

122. Psalm 118:138. (Sunday, at None.)

Mandasti *justitiam testimonia tua:* et *veritatem tuam* nimis.

LXX-V, rendering verbally an ambiguous Hebrew phrase, give us two accusatives after one verb in the first member, and one in the second member whose reference is not clear. *Tuam* is added by V, and discarded by Jerome's version, but without much improvement: *Praecepisti justitiam testimonii tui, et veritatem: nimis.* While it is true that *justitiam* could be a construct governing *testimonii* in the genitive, another and more probable explanation affects both "justice" in the first member and "fidelity" in the second. They are best construed as substantives in the adverbial accusative, denoting the manner of an action,[3] and in our idiom requiring government by some such preposition as "in, with, by." As Zorell expresses it in Latin, *Mandasti cum justitia monita tua, et cum benignitate summa.* The sense is

Thou hast enjoined *thy testimonies in justice*
and *in exceeding faithfulness.*

123. Psalm 121:3. (Monday, at Vespers.)

Jerusalem, quae aedificatur ut civitas: *cujus participatio*
ejus in idipsum.

Though this is not grammatically a complete sentence, it forms a step in a well knit synthetic parallel. As if in joyous expectation the pilgrims repeat the well loved name of the city, associating with it the quality that most impresses them at sight. With its dwellings closely packed together, the city symbolizes what it is in fact, the center of tribal unity, civil and religious, to all Israel. This attribute of density or compactness is introduced by a participial phrase ("the one built"), which becomes a relative clause in Latin, *quae aedificatur.* But in the next relative clause *participatio* (which Jerome repeats after LXX-V) is, according to MT, a misreading of a passive form of a verb, "has been joined" or "united." *Ejus,* a point of emphasis in the Hebrew idiom, becomes redundant to us. *In idipsum* is simply "together." The whole comes to this:

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[3] Cf. Cowley, 118 *q*; Joüon, 126 *g*.

Jerusalem! that is built as a city
which is compacted together.

124. Psalm 126:2. (Tuesday, at Vespers.)

Vanum est vobis ante lucem surgere: *surgite postquam sederitis, qui manducatis panem doloris. Cum dederit dilectis suis somnum:*

Security and prosperity are goods which man may strive for, but only God can give. This is evident to all in at least the case of the blessing of numerous offspring. While the argument of the psalm culminates (3-5) in appeal to this undeniable proof, it begins (1-2) by making the same claim for other achievements in which human initiative plays a larger part, such as the foundation and sustenance of the state and of the home. Divine favor is indispensable to the attainment of man's dearest and most natural aims.

The last clause of our verse should end with a period. It is an antithetic argument, closing the first of the two strophes. But both its sense and its place in the rhythmic structure have suffered in the hands of the LXX, though the latter clearly possessed the same consonants still present in MT. Jerome has partly restored its rhythmic arrangement, writing thus in his version from the Hebrew:

Frustra vobis est de mane surgere [*var. consurgere*]*;*
postquam sederitis,
qui manducatis panem dolorum:
sic dabit diligentibus se somnum.

This makes the last clause grammatically conclusive, as it should be, but leaves one or two details yet to be corrected.

Three of the above members picture the strivings of human anxiety as futile in themselves, while the fourth, by way of contrast (antithetic parallel), expresses the ease with which God cares for His own. Thus 2a strikes the note "It is vain for you who are early to rise." A Hebrew participle "being early" seemed to LXX to express the whole idea, and the infinitive "to rise" was carried over, and (acquiring the first letter of the next participle) became an imperative, V's *surgite*. Then the said participle, "delaying," shorn of its initial, was read as "after" (*postquam*). This dislocated 2b, "who delay to sit down," that is, delay the evening meal for daylight-saving purposes. 2c remained intact, another participial description, "who eat the bread of toil." Why all this diligence and thrift is vain without the aid of Providence, is now expressed antithetically: he who invokes and enjoys God's care may dispense with anxiety and yet prosper, for "just as much He gives to His favored (in) sleep," while effort is suspended. The last word is an adverbial accusative, like the two cases in Ps. 118:138 just above. Correctly understood, particularly in its context, the sentence lays to rest that long cherished inspiration of the poetess, "He giveth His beloved sleep." This sentiment is touching, but meaningless here. The verse should be understood thus:

'Tis vain for you who are early to rise,
who are late to sit down,
who eat the bread of toil:
as much He gives to His friend in repose.

(*To be continued*)

Woodstock College
Woodstock, Maryland

BIBLICAL NEWS

The Rev. Charles O'Conor Sloane, M.A., LL.B., S.T.L., S.S.L., professor of Sacred Scripture at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, has been called by the Episcopal Committee to membership on the permanent New Testament Committee of the Association.

We are happy to announce the establishment of THE CATHOLIC BIBLICAL ASSOCIATION in England. We quote from a circular recently issued by the new Association: "Its aim is to promote knowledge and love of the Scriptures in every possible way among all classes of people. Its constitution is as follows: "The President of the Association is His Eminence Cardinal Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster (now deceased), and the Chairman is the Very Reverend Monsignor John M. T. Barton, D.D., Consultor of the Pontifical Biblical Commission. There is an Executive Committee of five, consisting of the Chairman, Msgr. Barton, the Very Rev. Hugh Pope, O.P., the Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, S.J., the Rev. Edmund Sutcliffe, S.J., and the Rev. Reginald Fuller (Secretary). The Council of the Association consists of all priest members. Membership of the Association is open to all Catholics on payment of an annual subscription of half a crown to the secretary of the Association. For the time being the council meets annually at the Conference of Ecclesiastical Studies. Meetings open to all members will be arranged as soon as circumstances permit."

Various activities of the new Association are listed as follows: 1) Periodical issuance of stenciled circulars on matters of interest to the members; 2) Personal answers of questions in matters biblical for members by biblical professors and scholars; 3) A lending library (in process of formation); 4) Lectures by biblical professors and others approved by the Association; 5) Priest members are urged to foster interest in the Scriptures by sermons and the organization of study clubs. The Sunday within the octave of the feast of St. Jerome is suggested as an especially appropriate day for a sermon on the Bible.

Future proposed activities include: 1) Publication of a biblical review; 2) Publication of a series of booklets or pamphlets on each book of the Bible, giving introduction, analysis and explanation of more important passages; 3) The printing of the Bible in a more convenient and attractive form; 4) Consideration of the question of teaching the Sacred Scripture in seminaries, colleges, schools, etc.; 5) A biblical Summer School (on the lines of the Cambridge Summer School).

Our sister Association in England "will keep in touch with the Catholic Biblical Association of America which has now been running successfully for a number of years, and will inform members of developments of interest to them."

Serbian Catholics now have their first authorized Catholic version of the Four Gospels in their own language. It has been published by the Pontifical Academy of Oriental Studies in Rome at the request of the Holy Father for the use of Serbian prisoners of war. This current Serbian version was preceded by another made in 1819 by Vuk Karadzic and published in 1847. Although this version was always highly regarded for its accuracy and literary qualities, it was never given ecclesiastical approval. Its errors—all of a minor character—have been corrected in the light of modern advances in the study of the Greek text, and the resultant Serbian text has been given ecclesiastical approbation.

On May 3, 1943, the Rev. Leander Poirier, O.F.M., of Montreal, Canada, successfully defended his thesis, written in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctorate of Sacred Theology, at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Father Poirier is an active member of the Biblical Association. The subject of his thesis is "*Les sept Églises ou la premier septenaire prophétique de l'Apocalypse.*"

On May 20, 1943, the Rev. Rudolph P. Bierberg, C.PP.S. successfully defended his thesis, written in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctorate of Sacred Theology, at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. The subject of the thesis is *Conserva me, Domine* (Psalm 15), and is devoted mainly to a defence of the messianic sense especially of the concluding verses.

A smaller edition of the Confraternity Edition of the New Testament is in press and is expected to be ready for distribution about July 1, 1943. Its price will probably be from 50 to 70 cents. It is about half the size of the original edition; the format remains exactly the same, and although the type is considerably smaller, it is easily legible. Orders may be sent to Confraternity Publications, 144 West 32nd St., New York, N. Y.

There is a steady demand for back numbers of the *Quarterly*, particularly from the libraries of non-Catholic Universities and denominational Seminaries. The supply of the issue of April, 1940, Vol. II, No. 2, is almost exhausted, and therefore in order to be able to meet the demand for complete sets of back numbers, we appeal to members of the Association and subscribers, who have a copy or copies of the April, 1940, issue to dispose of, to send them in to the General Secretary's Office, Catholic University, Washington (17), D. C. For each copy of this number sent to the Secretary, credit of one dollar will be given to the sender's account towards next years dues or subscription.

The Office of the General Secretary still has a considerable number of copies of the Encyclical "Providentissimus Deus" (English translation), which will gladly be sent gratis as long as they last and in any desired quantity to any Active or Associate Member of the Association. Address the General Secretary, Catholic Biblical Association, Catholic University, Washington, (17) D. C.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

OLD TESTAMENT AND RELATED SUBJECTS

REV. PATRICK W. SKEHAN, S.T.D.
REV. JOHN P. WEISENGOFF, S.S.L.

American Anthropologist, 45, 1943. Franz Weidenreich, "The 'Neanderthal Man' and the Ancestors of 'Homo Sapiens'" (39-48). Again argues from the cranial evidence to the likelihood of a continuous development from the Neanderthal type to the modern *Homo Sapiens*.

American Journal of Archaeology, 47, 1943. A long analysis (pp. 105-8) of the contribution by W. F. Albright to the *Leland Volume: Studies in the History of Culture*, dealing with the history of the Canaanites-Phoenicians.

Biblical Archaeologist, 5, 1942. W. F. Albright, "King Joiachin in Exile" (49-55). Points out that the Babylonian tablets bearing Joiachin's name are important for the age of Zerubbabel, the early date of the books of Paralipomenon (about 400 B.C. or a little later) and the care with which they were compiled, and, against Torrey, for the authenticity of Ezekiel's prophecies.

John Bright, "Has Archaeology Found Evidence of the Flood?" (55-62). "Archaeology has given us no trace of it," but our knowledge of the Sumerian account of the flood we owe to archaeology. The ancestors of the Hebrews brought the story from Mesopotamia, and the story is directly or indirectly derived from the ancient Sumerian accounts.

Biblical Archaeologist, 6, 1943. G. Ernest Wright, "How did Early Israel Differ from her Neighbors?" (1-20). "Even when we have noted all the similarities, the borrowing, and the syncretism, the differences between the literature of Israel and that of Canaan are far more remarkable and significant than the affinities."

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 88, 1942. S. N. Kramer, "The Oldest Literary Catalogue: a Sumerian List of Literary compositions compiled about 2000 B.C." Dr. Kramer's work of reconstruction is based mainly on the Nippur materials that have lain in the museums of Istanbul and Philadelphia since the turn of the century; he estimates that only about one quarter of the material has yet been published. His own acquaintance with Sumerian literature in the mass is therefore unique.

H. G. May, "The Two Pillars before the Temple of Solomon" (19-27). A renewed analysis of all pertinent archaeological clues to the design of the pillars, based on the explanation lately current that their function was that of lofty, free-standing fire cressets.

W. F. Albright, "A Third Revision of the Early Chronology of Western Asia" (28-36). Reviews the method followed up to recently for combining traditional datings given by the Assyrian kings for their early predecessors with astronomical data of Babylonian first-dynasty times to secure a relatively fixed chronology for the second millenium B.C. Points out that the synchronism of Hammurabi of Babylon and Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria (known from Mari) must now be reinterpreted in the light of the Assyrian king-list from Khorsabad, recently described in detail by Poebel in JNES (see below). Poebel places Shamshi-Adad's first year in 1726 B.C. Albright would leave 22 years for two reigns of undetermined length (the data are broken off from the Khorsabad tablet), which Poebel after a long discussion of indirect evidence calculates at zero. Hence Albright makes Shamshi-Adad begin to reign around 1748 B.C. Hammurabi is then dated from about 1726 to about 1686 B.C. The check on this procedure comes from the interrelations of Hammurabi, Shamshi-Adad, and the contemporary kings of Mari, which seem to settle within ten years the relationship between Shamshi-Adad's first year and that of Hammurabi. A new correlation is given for the leading events of the ancient Near East from the fourteenth century B.C. back to about 3000—a span now considered long enough to include the earliest known dynasties both in Egypt and in Sumer.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 89, 1943. Nelson Glueck, "Jabesh-Gilead" (2-6). The city is to be identified with Meqbereh immediately north of the wadi Yâbis and about 15 kilometers southeast of Beisân. (Later indications as yet unpublished add further detail to this identification and increase the interest of the site.)

W. F. Albright, "Two Little Understood Amarna Letters from the Middle Jordan Valley" (7-17). The "Bihishi" of Amarna 256 should be read Pihili, a town which later became Pella. The "Sabuma" of Amarna 274 should be read Sapuna, the biblical Zaphon.

M. Solomiac, "The Northwest Line of the Third Wall of Jerusalem" (18-21). Presents evidence that "seems to indicate that Robinson's description of the Third Wall and Alderson's plan of the same are correct."

M. Stekelis, "Further Observations on the Chronology of Mughâret Abū Usba'" (22-24). Followed by W. F. Albright, "Remarks on Dr. Stekelis's Late Prehistoric Chronology" (24-5).

I. Mendelsohn, "Free Artisans and Slaves in Mesopotamia" (25-29). Babylonian and Assyrian craftmanship was the product of free, not slave, labor.

W. F. Albright, "An Archaic Hebrew Proverb in an Amarna Letter from Central Palestine" (29-32). In difficult Amarna 252 the author finds a proverb about the ant, and compares it with Prov. 6:6 and 30:25.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 26, 1942. E. Robertson, "The Priestly Code: The Legislation of the Old Testament and Graf-Wellhausen" (369-391). Continues an earlier discussion (cf. *CBQ* 3, 1942, p. 264), which views the Pentateuch as a legislation compiled under Samuel's direction to provide for central worship at a temple to be erected. Deals at great length with indications that Deuteronomy was prepared in circumstances of the sort, as the civil and religious legislation of the new-founded monarchy. Says very little that is cogent as to the origins of the "priestly code" itself, introducing modern Samaritans and midrashic development as shedding light on the question. Takes sides against the authenticity of Ezekiel 40-48 and dates it late to account better for the relation of these chapters to the priestly material in the Pentateuch.

Clergy Review, NS 22, 1942. E. F. Sutcliffe, S.J., "The Ethnographical Restriction of the Flood" (442-454). By settling the ark on "one of the foothills of Kurdistan" Fr. Sutcliffe disposes of the anthropological as well as the geographical universality of the flood. A strong suggestion is found that the Horim, the Zamzummim, the Emim, the Zuzim, and the Rephaim are not of Noachic stock but, along with the Cainites, are of "pre-diluvian" origin and were not embraced in the flood.

Clergy Review, 23, 1943. H. Pope, "Misprints or Heresies" (114-120). Fr. Pope goes over centuries of Bible publishing in English, this time mainly non-Catholic, to discuss misprints which have been perpetrated in the various editions.

Dublin Review, Yr. 100, 1942. E. Wyatt, "Enoch and his Angels" (134-140). A popular description of the contents and interest of the book and its recovery about 1773 in Ethiopia by the traveller James Bruce of Kinnaird.

Ecclesiastical Review, 108, 1943. F. X. Peirce, S.J., "Biblical Notes from Non-Catholic Periodicals" (145-152).

Expository Times, 54, 1942-3. E. Edwards, "A New Interpretation of Psalm 127:2b" (25-6).

S. Cook, an obituary notice of George Adam Smith (33-37).

J. W. Jack, "Recent Biblical Archaeology" (78-82). Discusses the water supply arrangements of large Palestinian cities, with their tunnels for access to nearby sources in the event of siege. Gives a list of Israelite names, presumably those of the descendants of the ten tribes, from Assyrian territory in the seventh century B.C.; this is based on materials long known.

Harvard Theological Review, 35, 1942; 36, 1943. Louis Finkelstein, "Pre-Maccabean Documents in the Passover Haggadah" (291-332; 1-38).

Jewish Quarterly Review, 33, 1942-3. S. Zeitlin, "Saadia Gaon—Champion for Jewish Unity under Religious Leadership" (365-401). This article includes (pp. 370-85) a clear presentation of one theory of the very intricate question of the history of the Jewish calendar through biblical times and afterward.

E. R. Goodenough, "Early Christian and Jewish Art" (403-18). Taking the occasion of an appreciation of Morey's "Early Christian Art," Goodenough develops the important hypothesis that such art as that of the Roman catacombs owes its forms and the foundation of its symbolism to Jewish illuminations of LXX manuscripts reaching even into the pre-Christian period. He adduces striking evidence from the text of Philo, as compared with the illustrations of an Octateuch in the Vatican Library. The attempt is made to fit the Dura synagogue evidence into its appropriate place in this scheme of things.

E. L. Marwick, "The Order of the Books in Yefet's Bible Codex" (445-60). The tenth century Karaite, Yefet ibn Ali, had a Bible with the books placed in the order "of the masoretic and Spanish Bible MSS., characterized by the placement of Chronicles before Psalms, of Job before Proverbs, and of Ruth at the head of the Megilloth."

L. J. Liebreich, "The Expression 'God Drew Us Near (Unto)' in Various Religious Contexts" (461-9).

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 62, 1942. H. L. Ginsberg, "Aramaic Studies Today" (229-38). A review of Franz Rosenthal's *Aramäistische Forschung* which it completes with valuable information about publications and progress especially in the fields of the Jewish Aramaic dialects.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 63, 1943. David Diringer, "The Palestinian Inscriptions and the Origin of the Alphabet" (24-30). After an examination of the ten known bronze age Canaanite inscriptions from Palestine, the author concludes that there is some connection between the Canaanite and the N. Semitic alphabets, but that there is no evidence for a direct connection between the Canaanite writing and the palaeo-Sinaitic writing.

Journal of Bible and Religion, 10, 1942. J. Philip Hyatt, "The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Interpretation of the Old Testament" (67-75).

W. A. Irwin, "Old Testament Scholarship" (131-5). "At present no one seems to know just what Old Testament Theology is."

Journal of Biblical Literature, 61, 1942. G. H. Macurdy, "Platonic Orphism in the Testament of Abraham" (213-26). Places a very heavy stress on Platonic and Orphic materials for the explanation of the Judgment scene in the A recension of this document.

Journal of Biblical Literature, 62, 1943. Charles C. Torrey, " 'Taxo' in the Assumption of Moses" (1-7). Pursuing his theory of Aramaic origin for practically all late Jewish and early Christian literature, the author makes the "Taxo" of the ninth chapter of this apocryphon equal to טקשו, which he then equates *numerically* with חשמוניא, "the Hasmonean." Hardly a compelling suggestion.

Robert Gordis, "The Heptad as an Element of Biblical and Rabbinic Style" (17-26). Cites a few examples of the heptad as a literary unit. They are taken from Genesis, Amos, Ecclesiastes, and rabbinic literature.

Floyd V. Filson, "The Omission of Ezek. 12:26-8 and 36:23b-38 in Codex 967" (27-32). Both omissions are due to homoioteleuton.

W. Sommer, "The Meaning of פוך in the Old Testament" (33-5).

Journal of the History of Ideas, 3, 1942. Carl F. Taensch, "The Concept of 'Usury' " (291-318). Includes "The Hebraic Conception," pp. 291-294.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 1, 1942. O. Neugebauer, "The Origin of the Egyptian Calendar" (396-403). "Every theory of the origin of the Egyptian calendar which assumes an astronomical foundation is doomed to failure." This proposition, developed by the author in *Acta Orientalia* in 1938, led him at that time to insist that observation of the rising of the Nile alone accounts for the 365 day year in early Egypt. In the present article he proposes an explanation for the 30 day month of the Egyptians.

G. Ernest Wright, "The Terminology of Old Testament Religion and its Significance" (404-14). Examines the terms for God's relation to His people used in Israel—Ruler and servants, Father and sons, Husband and spouse.

Arno Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad" (1, 1942, 460-492; 2, 1943, 56-90. Cont'd and concluded). A study *in extenso* of this famous text, now available in complete description for the first time. The detail of the regnal years of every king from Shamshi-Adad I, the contemporary of Hammurabi (cp. with *BASOR* above), to the end of the Assyrian kingdom is now available practically without a break. With a little patient sifting of the implications of this list, historians will now be able to furnish definitive dates for many events as far back as the eighteenth century B.C.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 2, 1943. A. T. Olmstead, "History, Ancient World, and the Bible" (1-34). A survey of the difficulties of an historian, the development of historical study, its influence on Scripture study, and the impact of archaeology on biblical studies.

Edward Robertson, "Points of Interest in the Massoretic Text" (35-9). Drawing his material from Isaias, the author points to alterations due to failure to distinguish between א and ע (43:4; 44:4; 5:28), change by conflation (23:11; 26:9), change of consonants (45:9; 48:10), changes to correct "unfulfilled predictions" (9:2; 49:5), changes because of fondness for word-play (10:15; 51:6).

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1942. A Guillaume, "Magical Terms in the Old Testament" (111-131). The author concludes by observing that Assyrian texts are "countermagical" but that the O.T. ones are "antimagical" in the sense that they leave the vindication of those attacked by magic to God.

Journal of Theological Studies, 42, 1941. H. H. Rowley, "The Text and Structure of Psalm 2" (143-54).

D. Winston Thomas," לִיקֲּהַת in Proverbs 30:17" (154-5). Derives it from a root להק, having to do with old age (Arab., Eth.). G. R. Driver had previously seen this root in 1 Sam. 19:20.

C. Lattey, "The Prophets and Sacrifice: A Study in Biblical Relativity" (155-65). Explains again the denunciations of sacrificial acts by the prophets as not being a rejection of the sacrificial system.

H. F. D. Sparks, "Lachish and the Date of the Exodus" (178-81).

Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 74, 1942. H. H. Rowley, "Habiru and Hebrews" (41-53). There was a conquest in the early fourteenth century, before Moses, by Juda. Josue follows Moses, who is late thirteenth century. He equates the names given in his title on "non-etymological grounds" and avoids the etymological problems.

David Diringer, "The Early Hebrew Weights Found at Lachish" (82-103).

S. Birnbaum, "The Date of the Gezer Tablet and of the Samaria Ostraca" (104-8).

Tarbiz, 13, 1941-2. B. Mielziner, "On the Name Job" (72). To the evidence from the Amarna tablets, the Aechtungstexte, and from Mari, for the early currency of the name, Mielziner adds an occurrence from the mid-second millenium B.C. at Tell Chagar Bazar, as listed by Gadd in *Iraq*, 7, 1940, p. 36.

M. H. Segal, "The Book of Job" (73-91). A discussion based on the recent commentary of H. Torczyner, published by Hebrew University Press, Jerusalem, 1941.

I. Ratzbi, "The Translation of Lamentations by R. Saadia Gaon" (92-106). An edition, from a variety of mss., with defense of the author identification on grounds of external indications and internal criteria. The rendering into Arabic is given in the Hebrew characters of the mss.

Theological Studies, 4, 1943. A review of Albright's *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* by Fr. McClellan (112-39). This analysis will convince the student of O.T. questions that Prof. Albright's book is one to know well, and to have available for reference.

Thomist, 5, 1943. Louis Finkelstein, "The Role of Dogma in Judaism" (103-10). Acceptance [of a common terminology with diverse meanings, and] of a commonly prescribed course of action is the substitute for dogmatic unity. "Judaism sees the Will of God sanctifying men through His commandments, rather than through verbal confession of faith. This is apparently the basis for the distinction. . . drawn by St. Paul . . . As a religion, Judaism for many centuries avoided formulating the speculative truths implied in its commandments, preferring to let the ideas remain expressed only in terms of prescribed action." "We tend to regard the Sadducean teaching as negative, and the Pharisaic teaching as positive, because we are dependent mainly on Pharisaic traditions." Claims that the Sadducees formed positive dogmas and the Pharisees negated them. Pictures all dogma as a restriction of liberty, and hence opposed by the Pharisees. "The Mishna knows of two dogmas in Judaism: the Resurrection of the Dead and the Divine Inspiration of the Oral Law." "It is basic agreement on concepts when expressed in action and religious symbolism, which gives Judaism unity not only in any one period, but across the ages."

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BOOK REVIEWS

JOSEPH CLIFFORD FENTON, S.T.D., *We Stand With Christ.* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1942). Pp. 463. $3.25 (Adoption Price $2.60).

The author of this "Essay in Catholic Apologetics" is Assistant Professor of Fundamental Dogmatic Theology at the Catholic University of Washington, who already has two other theological works to his credit: *The Theology of Prayer,* and *The Concept of Sacred Theology.* While no one expects any novel opinions from a new Catholic Apologetics, yet the presentation of the subject-matter may and does vary. To the casual reader the most attractive feature of this book are the dark-faced paragraph headings, which bring out the progress of thought within each chapter, so that a good idea of Apologetics may be had from merely reading them. The more serious student will be pleased by the extensive (translated) quotations of pertinent texts, because they put him in touch with the direct evidence for many of his arguments. Excerpts are made from Holy Scripture, the Fathers, the Councils, etc. Thus, in treating of the Resurrection, the supreme argument of Apologetics, the whole of the four Gospel accounts is cited, together with St. Paul's famous passage in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. As a result, the volume is considerably increased, and some might judge it too bulky. But I think with the author that it is about time to be done with five-cent pamphlets for fundamental treatises of theology.

Another pleasing feature of this new Apologetics is its abundant documentation. Father Fenton acquaints the student with the authoritative works in the field of Catholic Apologetics, especially with those published in recent years. To their titles, he has, in many instances, added remarks which are enlightening. From the nature of things, the majority of these references are to books and reviews in languages other than English, and generally to works which will not be found outside of theological libraries. But this is no handicap since the book is evidently intended for students of seminaries.

The book ends with a brief (16 pages) history of Apologetics.

Both doctrine and method are, of course, those common with modern Apologists. This reviewer is, however, puzzled on one point, viz., on the apologetic proof for Christ's divinity. Father Fenton insists that Christ's claim to divinity can be proved from "the historical records" (p. 155), and the whole of Chapter 11 is devoted to this proof. Yet we also read (p. 187): "It is not within the competence of apologetics to demonstrate that Jesus was really God." Nor does the author, when justifying Christ's various claims (ch. 14-17), ever allude to the fact that He also claimed to be the Son of God. One wonders why. Do not the same proofs which clearly establish Christ's other claims, also justify His claim to divinity?

This is not written in a spirit of fault-finding. Father Fenton's latest contribution to our theological literature is a model of a modern Apologetics for American readers. But he might have been a bit bolder on this one point. The divinity of Christ is more and more recognized as the central thesis of Apologetics.

The Bruce Publishing Company deserves credit for this addition to their long catalog of solidly scientific works. A. C. COTTER, S.J.

A COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT, prepared by The Catholic Biblical Association, under the patronage of The Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. (The Catholic Biblical Association, 1942). Pp. 728. $2.00.

This volume is the companion to the revised edition of THE NEW TESTAMENT: in the words of the Preface "this Commentary, which is intended as a supplement to the Confraternity Edition of the New Testament, presupposes that the reader has the revised edition before him. The same logical order as indicated by the marginal headings of the Confraternity Edition is followed. The Commentary bases its explanations on the revised text and often makes reference to its footnotes." The Commentary was prepared by the same group of men (with one or two exceptions) that revised THE NEW TESTAMENT, with the same author revising the text and writing the commentary. An Editorial Committee unified the work of this group.

At the outset of a review of such a work the magnitude of the task as well as the many difficulties involved cannot but be mentioned. The task and the difficulties began with the individual author who wrote the commentary on this or that book, for the writing of a commentary on any gospel or epistle is no small matter. But that task becomes difficult when the individual author realized that his commentary must needs be curtailed and compressed into a comparatively few pages, when he found himself obliged to put aside the technical terminology of the scriptural professor and to adopt a terminology that would be understandable to the average lay person who reads the NEW TESTAMENT, and when he was confronted with the obligation of selecting certain passages for comment while he must pass over many others. Once the manuscripts of the individual authors had been finished the work of the Editorial Committee began. And once more the work was beset with difficulties, for "the nature of this work . . . and the desire for uniformity called for more than customary intervention on the part of the editors. The use of technical terms, as a rule, has been avoided. The style and general manner of expression of the various writers have to some extent been altered. In some matters of little moment divergent views of individual commentators have been harmonized."

This was not all. In the question of chronology there necessarily had to be uniformity. The Editorial Committee had the responsibility of adopting a chronology that would be uniform and yet would not be too far removed from the opinions of individual authors. The Committee indicates this responsibility by pointing out that "the individual authors are not necessarily responsible for the dates given in their portion of the work." There was yet another point; and herein the editors felt more than ever the onerous duty imposed upon them. In their own words "in another important matter the editors prevailed. They desired to limit the Commentary to one volume, which made it necessary to abridge the work of the individual writers, who previously had consented to this abridgment." There is no doubt in the mind of this reviewer that this last task involved more difficulty and more misgiving than all the others combined. This reviewer is personally convinced that the Commentary will prove very valuable to priests who are moderators of organized Scripture discussion clubs; it will be just as valuable to the members of these clubs, once the moderators have explained to them the method of using a Commentary and have enlightened them on the relation between the text and the comments in the Commentary.

G. H. GUYOT, C.M.

J. COPPENS, *The Old Testament and the Critics*, translated from the French by Edward A. Ryan, S.J., and Edward W. Tribbe, S.J. (Paterson: St. Anthony's Guild Press, 1942). Pp. xvi, 167. $2.00.

"The author, one of the Church's leading Scripture scholars, has collaborated with the translators of this American Edition by revising his text and bringing it strictly up to the minute. It presents a survey of the copious literature published on Old Testament criticism, notes all the movements of importance, and, after essaying an evaluation, outlines the results which Catholic exegesis can retain for the clarifying and strengthening of its own scientific positions. Abundant footnotes present a wealth of accessory information, and the clearly organized text is supplemented by an index."

No apology is in order for this quotation at length from the jacket of Fr. Coppens' book in its English form. To begin with, it may be presumed that many of our readers already know the worth of this publication, from the time of its serial appearance in the *Nouvelle Revue Theologique;* so that this review needs only remind them of the service that Frs. Ryan and Tribbe, and their publishers of St. Anthony's Guild, have done us by making it generally available in America. For these already firm friends of the book, this suggestion might be made: buy a copy for some friend, but don't give it to him right away. You will end by keeping it for the index and the additions to the English text, and by buying another copy for your friend. Both of you will gain by it.

In the few months that this translation has been on the market, the reviewer has heard more interested and enthusiastic comment about it from qualified Catholic scripture scholars than most other books in the field elicit in as many years—if ever. That is to say, of course, that it is not an elementary handbook, but is directed, in the author's words, to those who "are interested in Biblical studies and desire to advance them within the Church." Yet that should be a fairly large audience, should it not? The seminary professor may not use this as a textbook; but he should not fail to commend it to all his students, and to urge it upon the better and the more responsive. By introducing it properly to a class that has had some foundation in Old Testament matters, the professor can perhaps save himself some time from questions of higher criticism for the more essential work of exegesis. He can rely on this supplementary reading not only for detailed analyses of critical trends and opinions, but also for opening up vistas of background material and methods of literary investigation of the sacred text that class time would not normally permit him even to suggest. It is the reviewer's opinion that this one book, judiciously studied with the necessary references at the right point in a student's development, would be the adequate counterpart for a solid year of classroom instruction under a very competent professor. Certainly no *ex professo* specialist in Scripture for years to come should go through his studies without it. In addition, the chapter on "The Future" should prove an intensely stimulating basis for profitable exchange of views between the professional exegete and his colleagues in systematic theology and apologetics.

There is a slight danger from the title that the work may be considered merely another examination of the thorny question of the Pentateuch. Happily, it does not isolate that question; it has much to offer on the Prophets, and the Psalter as well—it is in all respects a well-rounded study with fruitful applications covering every part of the Old Testament. So much having been said, let this review be content to mention a few of the by-products of the author's main theme: thumb-nail sketches (now indexed) of the leading critics with their personal background; an excellent bibliography, English and otherwise, which will repay the scrutiny even of the specialist; good histories of the auxiliary sciences that are broadening the foundations of present-day exegesis.

Two details are worthy of remark. A citation in footnote 38, p. 150, is conscientiously given as not verified; the footnote adds to the French text, and provides important information regarding Fr. Knabenbauer's attitude toward Deutero-Isaias. The reviewer is happy to say from observation that the reference is correct. In the index of names, that of Fr. Gigot is lacking. It is of special interest to us in America, that Fr. Coppens, limiting himself to "essentials," gives to Gigot a place apart (English edition, p. 150, footnote 39, which is identical with the manner of citation in the French text).

Louvain is happy indeed in having so worthy a successor in the footsteps of Canon van Hoonacker; and it is to be hoped that a merited success for this publication will make Fr. Coppens widely known in America.

PATRICK W. SKEHAN, S.T.D.

VINCFNT F. KIENBERGER, O.P., *The Way of the Blessed Christ.* (New York, Longmans, Green and Co.). Pp. xii, 260.

It is the duty of every priest to preach Christ, to make known to little ones the truth of his words, the purpose of his wonders and the utter attractiveness of his person. From the day St. John wrote "these things that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in his name," elect ministers of the word have pondered the inspired accounts of the God-Man's ministry among the children of men and have published their own meditations for our instruction that we may gain Christ. Theirs has been the studious and prayerful approach to Him Who is the fulness of truth and life. The result of their study and prayer has been our own awakened appreciation of the truth made manifest that we have life in His name.

Without hesitation Father Kienberger may take his place among these heralds of the King of glory. For the benefit of devout souls he has made public his thoughts of the Blessed Christ. His recent publication is a collection of thirty-four vignettes of the God-Man. Each is a complete sketch in itself, and yet an integral part of his whole picture of Christ. Following the account of the sainted Evangelists, he artistically combines pericopes to develop his several themes. His own original contributions are the refreshing abundance of description which sets the stage and prepares the scenes, and the recurring application to the Eucharistic Christ which repeat, like an antiphon, his master-thought: Jesus Christ the same—yesterday in Palestine, today in the Eucharist.

We regret that Father Kienberger turned away from the Gospels at times to draw his material from his other readings and his own imagination. This is unfortunate, because such imaginings, however pious, only blur the Gospel-story of the Nazarene. The Divine Child fashioning a cross in the workshop at Nazareth (p. 21), Mary knowing in her heart that the meeting with her Son at the marriage-feast would be no ordinary meeting (p. 55) and Emmaus the second Eucharistic Shrine (p. 241) are not authentic lines in the true story of the God-Man. We believe that simple truth is more telling than sentimental fiction.

In *The Way of the Blessed Christ* a few biblical texts are improperly cited. 1 Thess. 2:7-8 (p. 54) and 2 Cor. 1:12 (p. 147) are ascribed to Saint John. The royal singer, David, is called the author of Psalm 87

(p. 121) and Psalm 88 (p. 138-139), whereas Asaph and Ethan were their respective authors. References to the writings of Saint John are confused: John 3:23-26 instead of 1 John 3:23-24; John 2:12-14 instead of 1 John 2:1.13-14 (p. 255-256); John 5:33 instead of John 10:33 and John 5:37 instead of John 10:37 (p. 258).

The Reverend author's slight unfamiliarity with certain details of the Gospels results in patent and painful inaccuracies in his retelling of the Gospel narrative. The Nazarenes *doubting* the miracles Christ had wrought elsewhere (p. 35), Nathanael *coming at once* to the Master and uttering his act of faith (p. 83), the Samaritan woman recognizing Christ's *divine character* and His enemies recognizing His *divine personality* (p. 104), the bright cloud *enveloping the Apostles* at Christ's transfiguration (p. 143), the sun going out in darkness *when Christ yielded up the spirit* (p. 189) and the *servants* of the high-priest toiling to push the stone of the sepulchre into place (p. 231) are false statements. The author must have taken his Homeric nods when he wrote "the journey's end for the *Twelve* was martyrdom (p. 117), when he mentioned Christ speaking the allegory of the Good Shepherd to His *disciples* (p. 146) and when he called Christ's prayer in the garden "an *almost despairing* prayer" (p. 198). A closer reading of Saint John would have convinced the author that the priestly prayer was said in the Cenacle and not on the way across Cedron's brook (p. 197) and would have enabled him to distinguish with precision the reactions of the different groups who listened to Christ's discourse at Capharnaum (p. 124).

The preaching of Christ in popular terms should never lead to careless and inaccurate expression. I believe that Father Kienberger forgot the definition of a miracle when he wrote: "greatest of the miracles was the changing of wine into His own precious blood" (p. 59). And how can he say: "God and man must be *identified?*" (p. 151) "Beneath the elements of bread and wine the Eucharistic Christ abides" (p. 125) and "in the stainless, wheaten disc of bread He remains on our altars" (p. 242) savor of impanation. The momentary impression is created that the Christ of the Lord was promised and sent because the people entreated and not because God so loved the world (p. 165 and 204).

The book should lead the religious reader away from so many treatises of lesser value and back to God's story of His Beloved Son who is the exclusive Way to eternal life in the Father's house.

DAMIAN B. LYONS, O.F.M.

PAUL HANLY FURFEY, Ph. D., *A History of Social Thought* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942). Pp. xiii, 468. $2.75.

The history of the complex attainments of social, political, and economic development reflects the vital forces of thought that created it.

Social thought—thought as it bears on human group life—is one grand synthesis which covers all thinking about human group activities. An adequate history of social thought will necessarily take into consideration the major religious and philosophical systems that have so profoundly influenced men. For this reason the first one-hundred pages of *A History of Social Thought* throws an interesting side light on the cultures of prehistoric ages and the ancient Near East when compared with that of the Hebrew people.

Hebrew social thought sprang from the common Semitic background of the ancient Near East. The Hebrew approach to social justice, developed in the light of revealed religion, reflects the vital force of divine thought which inspired the whole Mosaic Law. Even in its purely secular provisions one notes the general advancement of the Mosaic Law over existing codes. The author's treatment of the social thought of the Hebrew prophets is brief but definitely revealing; the consuming love of social justice as seen in the lives of the prophets is frequently underestimated. One who has not specialized in the history and times of the prophets would do well to give chapter five consideration.

Chapter seven developes the trend of social thought according to the teaching of the Gospels. Christ's social program enkindled the hatred and drew the fire of a selfish and overprivileged minority; it served as the basis for His death. "The essential warfare between the world and the Kingdom of God"—a phenomenon without precedent in human history—reflects the opposing principles in social thought. The common supernatural life shared by Christ and the members of His kingdom is the essential element in the kingdom of God; this element distinguishes social thought in Christ's kingdom from all other merely human systems. This fact cannot be overemphasized; for, a common supernatural life binds its members together by a love that is not merely human but divine; it is the mainspring of Christian social thought. This same principle is further exemplified by St. Paul's development of the doctrine of Christ's mystical body, the Church. *A History of Social Thought* should prove to be stimulating reading for the professors of Sacred Scripture and Apologetics; they may look in vain for new biblical information but they will appreciate more deeply the influence of revealed religion in the world of social thought.

CHARLES G. HEUPLER, O.F.M.CAP.

BERYL SMALLEY, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941). Pp. xvi, 295.

"The Bible was the most studied book in the middle ages." The opening words of the Introduction of this valuable book express a truth that today is appreciated more and more by historians of the medieval period, and the production of scholarly works like this one will eventually oblige all interested in the history of biblical study to abandon the traditional belief that the period was one of stagnation and decadence. As Cardinal Gasquet said several years ago, there are few who "really understand how seriously and thoroughly the Scriptures were studied in the so-called dark ages." But popular ideas die slowly, and only by painstaking research such as is evidenced in this book can the biblical scholars of the middle ages be restored to their proper place in the history of exegesis.

The title perhaps might lead one to think that we would be given a picture of the widespread diffusion of the Bible among the people, as is done by Dr. Rost in his *Die Bibel im Mittelalter* (Augsburg, 1939), or at least a complete history of medieval biblical scholarship. Miss Smalley is much more modest in her scope: she says that she is not competent to write such a book, that she wants merely "to clear the ground, in order that such a history may be written some day"; she limits herself to the medieval conception of Bible studies and, more specifically, to those "circles where Bible study was a vocation or a profession and therefore to the study of the Bible in Latin." Chronologically, she ends in 1300, and geographically, she speaks only of England, Northern France, and the Rhineland.

Tracing the development of the influence of the allegorical Alexandrian School upon the early Western scholars of medieval times, the authoress shows that, despite Augustine and Jerome, such writers as Cassian and Gregory favored the spiritual sense of Scripture, and that only among the Irish monks of the seventh century and by the Venerable Bede was an attempt, not wholly successful, made to get back to the letter of the Bible. This attempt was continued during the Carolingian Revival with better results, and in Chapter II where this period is treated, we meet not only well known characters like Alcuin, Raban Maur, Walafrid Strabo, and John the Scot, but others also, who are not so well known: Haimo, probably of Auxerre, Heiric, his pupil, and Angelom of Luxeuil. The incipient interest in Hebrew was interrupted by war and the Viking invasion and, strangely enough, by the emphasis placed on liturgy by the Cluniac reformers at the expense of study. Many pages are devoted to a consideration of the Gloss, our knowledge of which is by no means complete, and then, after a treatment of the Quaestio, we are given some details of the friendly relations which existed in the eleventh century between Christian and Jewish scholars, and which gave to the former an excellent opportunity to learn Hebrew, the better to study the Old Testament.

In medieval biblical scholarship, the name of the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris, founded in 1110, stands out, for three of its sons made lasting contributions to the science of biblical studies: Hugh, Richard and Andrew. This last, ordinarily passed over in histories of exegesis, is considered by Miss Smalley such an important character that she devotes an entire chapter to him and to his work, as well as an Appendix which contains many passages from his commentaries. In presenting her picture of Andrew, she gives us much interesting information concerning Jewish life and scholars in twelfth century Northern France, and shows how Andrew was in part indebted to certain of his Jewish acquaintances for his knowledge of the Old Testament.

Naturally, Peter Comestor (or the Eater, so-called from having so eaten and digested the Scriptures), Peter the Chanter, Master Adam, and Stephen Langton, "the greatest biblical scholar of the later twelfth century," appear in the book, and Stephen is so vividly presented that we feel we are his contemporaries.

The last Chapter, entiled The Friars (and by Friars are meant the Dominicans and the Franciscans) traces the influence of Aristotle and Maimonides upon Christian scholars, who devoted more attention to the literal sense of the Scriptures. The Dominicans are represented by Hugh of St. Cher, St. Albert, and St. Thomas; and the Franciscans, like St. Bonaventure, Roger Bacon, and Thomas Docking, even though they kept more closely to Augustine, nevertheless were influenced in their biblical studies by the Stagirite. There is an interesting defense of Bacon's contemporaries against some of his extreme charges, and in developing the argument that Hebrew was certainly not such an unknown language as many have thought, the authoress presents to us the astonishing information that in MS. Lambeth 435 (mid-thirteenth century) the Tetragrammaton in practically its modern transcription is to be found: IAHAVE. As a matter of fact, Hebrew was better known than Greek in the thirteenth century, and Rashi did not have to wait for Nicholas Lyre, to be quoted explicitly by a Christian commentator.

There are two plates, one the above-mentioned MS. Lambeth 435, and the other, a copy of the Gloss on St. John's Gospel, written in England in the later twelfth century. There are two Indices, one of persons and the other of manuscripts referred to in the book. Miss Smalley makes frequent use of the Douai Version for her English quotations.

It may seem from the foregoing that we have in this book one which is scholarly but dry and uninteresting. It is scholarly, most certainly, but it is far from dry. Miss Smalley, with a light touch here and a most apt remark there, succeeds in making her subject and her characters live for us. She speaks of the important part played by Englishmen in medieval Bible studies. She herself is continuing in the noble tradition of English love of things scriptural.

MATTHEW P. STAPLETON.

OUR LADY'S VOW OF VIRGINITY (Lk. 1:34)

REV. JOHN J. COLLINS, S.J., S.S.L.

When the angel Gabriel enters into the house of Nazareth and announces to Mary that she will conceive and bring forth a Son, the answer of our Lady is, "How shall this happen, since I do not know man?" There is no dispute among Catholics, Suarez could remark, that our Lady had made a vow of virginity, and present day theological manuals and works on the Blessed Virgin quote the verse of St. Luke as proof of her perpetual virginity and conclude that she had taken either a resolution or a vow of remaining ever a virgin.[1] The whole question of the validity of the argument from the text was reopened among Catholic scriptural scholars during the past few years when a German author, Fr. Donatus Haugg, studied the entire matter with particular attention to the patristic interpretations.[2] His investigations led him to the conclusion that the understanding of the words as implying a vow began with St. Augustine. Therefore, since the sense of the verse was not fixed by the interpretation of the Fathers, Fr. Haugg sought to find the meaning in the context, the Jewish marriage customs, and the religious ideas of the times. His thesis is: the position of Mary as a spouse explains her question. She is betrothed to Joseph, not yet married. So that when the angel tells her she is to conceive immediately, our Lady replies in substance, this is impossible; I am not yet married. Furthermore, the concept of a life of perpetual virginity was something unheard of among the Jews of that time, and the possibility of reconciling virginity with the obligations of marriage is a problem which has vexed theologians for centuries.[3] In answer to Mary's objection the angel assures her that this conception will be miraculous, and Mary then pronounces her Fiat![4]

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[1] Manuals such as Pesch, Otten, Pohle-Preuss; also H. Lennerz, S.J. *De Beata Virgine* (Romae 1935), 43. On a vow: cf. Cardinal Lepicier, O.S.M., *De Beatissima Virgine Maria* (ed. 5a, Romae 1926), 403-4; E. Campana, *Maria nel Dogma cattolico* (3 ed., Romae, 1928), 589; J. Terrien, *La Mère de Dieu,* I ed., 2a (n.d.) 147. Cf. also J. Renié, *Manuel d'Ecriture sainte* (2nd ed., Paris 1938), IV, 246; Lusseau-Colomb, *Manuel d'Etudes bibliques* (5th ed., Paris 1932) IV 284-5; P. Dausch, *Die drei älteren Evangelien* (4th ed., Bonn 1932) 430; H. Simón, *Praelectiones Biblicae N.T.* (3rd ed., Marietti 1926), I, 141-2; J. Lebreton, S.J., *The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ* (Milwaukee 1935), 7; F. Prat, S.J., *Jésus-Christ* (Paris 1933), I, 49-50.

[2] Donatus Haugg, *Das erste biblische Marienwort* (Stuttgart 1938).

[3] Cf. John C. Ford, S.J., *The Validity of Virginal Marriage* (Worcester 1938).

Although the interpretation just proposed is not common, there have been other Catholics who have doubted the worth of the deduction drawn from the text, "I know not man." Haugg himself refers to Cardinal Cajetan and to S. Landersdorfer, O.S.B., whose work on this matter did not prevent him from later being elevated to the episcopacy. Among present day exegtes Fr. Gächter, S.J., formerly of Innsbruck, considers Haugg's theory probable, and in a very interesting and scholarly article in *Theological Studies* has ably presented the arguments for that side. Even among those who disagree with Haugg's interpretation, I have not found any who condemn the view as unorthodox. Canon Coppens of Louvain seems to do justice to this aspect of Haugg's book when he says: we must admit that the text is difficult, then that his explanation is natural, finally that it seems to safeguard the rights of dogma and perhaps of tradition.[5]

I shall present the substance of Fr. Haugg's theory as three difficulties against the traditional interpretation of the text, and give the answers to them. Next I will treat the question of a vow or a resolution. Finally we shall see how much inroad the new theory has made upon the common interpretation of our Lady's words.

I. The Angel, Fr. Haugg says, announces to Mary that she will conceive immediately. This statement is fundamental for the theory proposed. Now, one may note that immediately does not occur in the angel's words. The text reads "thou shalt conceive in thy womb and shalt bring forth a son" (Lk. 1:31). No time is specified. But addressing an espoused woman, the angel would obviously seem to refer to the time when she will begin her married life with Joseph. So natural is this thought that Harnack wishes to delete Mary's words, "How shall this be, for I know not man" since, he says, the obvious answer would be, naturally this will be when you do get married. In the interpretation of Fr. Haugg the angel's words are understood to imply that the conception will be at once. In favor of his opinion three arguments may be adduced. First, that the Incarnation took place shortly after the Annunciation; next, that there is no mention of a future time; finally, the parallel with Zachary's punishment. In regard to the first, the angel may have had in mind the fact that the Incarnation will take place immediately.[6] But the question is not so much the angel's thoughts, as how much he expressed to our Lady at this point. As the words stand they do not seem to imply that the conception will take place immediately. But the objection is made that had the message concerned a later date, one would have expected an indication of time.[7] The reply to this is given by Fr. Medebielle: nothing in the angel's words indicates the present rather than the future.[8] They abstract from time. The promise has to do with the fact of the maternity, without saying anything about the moment when it will be realized.[9] Mary could wait until the birth would take place without a miracle. The third argument to prove that the sense of immediate conception is contained in the words of taken from the analogy of Zachary. In his case the words of Gabriel were similarly in the future tense, "thou shalt be dumb and unable to speak" (Lk 1:20), yet the fulfillment began immediately, for Zachary coming out of the temple was unable to speak.[10] The solution to this objection has been given by Fr. Lagrange, O.P. Just as Zachary will be dumb when the occasion arises to speak, so the Virgin is now assured that she will bear a child, which will take place at the proper time, a time not further specified.[11]

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[4] Fr. Haugg's book is not available, but the detailed summary in Fr. Gächter's "Gospel Chronology up to the Nativity," *Theological Studies*, 2 (May, 1941), 146-62, and the article of Fr. Holzmeister, "Quomodo fiet istud quoniam virum non cognosco" in *Verbum Domini*, 19 (1939), 70-77, together with the various reviews make it possible to present the main arguments.

[5] J. *Coppens, Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*, 16 (1939), 513.

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[6] Cf. Lagrange in Lk 1:34. Many of the objections made to the traditional interpretation of the text are similar to those of Harnack and for that reason have been treated by authors who wrote before Haugg. For a treatment of Harnack and Landersdorfer's interpretation cf. Lagrange, Knabenbauer.

[7] Cf. Gächter, p. 159.

[8] *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement,* I, 287.

[9] Cf. F. X. Steinmetzer, cited by Holzmeister *loc. cit.*, p. 71: there is not the slightest trace that the angel's words mean an immediate conception.

[10] Cf. Gächter, p. 159.

[11] Mary's question differs from Zachary's since he proposed an impediment of the physical order, the sterility of his wife, and the great age of both of them. Thus, his words indicated a lack of faith. Mary proposes an impediment which arises from her own determination, and she does not manifest the slightest trace of disobedience. Mary "modum quaesivit, non de omnipotentia Dei dubitavit" (Augustine, MPL 38, 1318) cf. Holzmeister, *loc. cit.* p. 70.

II. Fr. Haugg's second objection against the traditional interpretation of Lk. 1:34 is that Mary was espoused and not yet married, therefore she is shocked at the suggestion that she should have a child before the time of marriage.[12] We may give two answers to this objection. The first is to deny the supposition that espoused persons were not validly married, for the Jewish espousals were the equivalent of marriage. The second answer is to grant the supposition for the sake of argument and deny the conclusion. Even if not truly married Mary and Joseph for a sufficient reason could advance the date of their marriage. In regard to espousals being equivalent to marriage Philo is explicit on this point. With the Jews therefore the espousal was a real marriage in all its effects, and the "marriage" was merely the solemn bringing of the bride into the house of her husband.[13] Ordinarily the wife lived with her parents for some time after the espousals, the betrothal usually taking place when the girl was quite young. An espoused woman could not be sent away without a bill of divorce,[14] if a child was born during the time of the espousals the child was legitimate, and if the husband died before he had brought his espoused wife to live in his house, she was considered a widow and enjoyed a widow's rights.[15] Therefore, authorities generally such as Strack-Billerbeck, Moore, and Montefiore state that Jewish espousals conferred the full rights of marriage. In that case there would be nothing sinful in an espoused woman having a child.

However, to appreciate Father Haugg's argument, we must remember that he denies espousals are equivalent to marriage, and he holds further that the time elapsing between the betrothal and the marriage is so fixed that Mary and Joseph cannot shorten it. Therefore our Lady is perplexed. Now the Talmud mentions the time which intervenes between the espousal of a virgin and her marriage as being one year, while for a widow the interval was one month. Such would seem to be the ordinary custom. But in answer to Fr. Haugg we may ask for proof that the time could not be shortened for sufficient reason. There is a statement of a rabbi who speaks of a man espousing a wife and marrying her immediately.[16] Therefore, even supposing that the angel means our Lady is to conceive and bear a Son in the near future, that wish of God would be a sufficient reason for advancing the time of the marriage. Just as Joseph could be warned by an angel not to be perplexed but to take Mary into his home, so even immediately after the Annunciation, our Lady could have shared with Joseph the message of the angel and induced him to take her immediately into his home.[17]

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[12] Cf. Gächter, *loc. cit.*, p. 149-56.

[13] "Even a Jewish scholar, C. G. Montefiore, explains *betrothed* in Mt. 1:18 thus 'they were legally married according to Jewish law' (*The Synoptic Gospels*, II, London, 1927, p. 5)," cited by Gächter, p. 147.

[14] Cf. Mt. 1:19, "Joseph her husband... was minded to put her away privately" and the note in the Confraternity Revision "Private divorce without a stated reason seemed the only solution."

[15] Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, II (1924), 393; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, II (1927), 121; Gächter, *loc. cit.* p. 155.

III. The third objection against the common interpretation of St. Luke's words is that a vow or resolution of perpetual virginity was almost unthinkable for a pious Jewish maiden.[18] This point is urged showing how highly the Jewish tradition glorified marriage and looked upon children as a blessing and sterility as a disgrace. If, then, our Lady shared the religious ideas of her time, the thought of devoting her life to God in perpetual virginity is most unlikely.

Apart from the instance of one second century rabbi who never married because he wished to devote himself completely to the study of the Law,[19] there are two facts which must be considered, namely the evidence for a certain esteem of celibacy at the beginning of the Christian era among the Jews, and the unique position of our Lady.

In discussing the Jewish attitude toward virginity one cannot overlook the Essenes. These resembled monks and lived in community and abstained from marriage. Lagrange, Holzmeister, and others appeal to them as an indication that there was not a complete lack of esteem for the life of virginity. In fact, Medebielle asserts that the Essenes represent the immense collective striving toward the higher life of virginity noticeable at the beginning of the Christian era. Some writers appeal also to another group of ascetics, the Therapeutae, whom Philo described in such a way that some of apologists thought these must be Christian monks and nuns, although the truth seems to be that the Therapeutae were thoroughly Jewish and not Christian. Finally, among the Jews were some solitaries such as Banous with whom Josephus the historian lived for a few years in penance and prayer.[20]

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[16] The rabbi lived about 280 A.D., cf. Strack-Billerbeck p. 398; Holzmeister *loc. cit.* p. 71. Strack-Billerbeck *op. cit.*, p. 394, remark that the prescription which directed that the espoused, if a virgin, was to remain in her father's house one year before being married, can hardly be considered obligatory. G. F. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 8, speaks of the "normal interval." Fr. Gächter, *loc. cit.*, p. 170, seems to think that the period of one year betrothal in the case of Mary could not be shortened.

[17] Cf. P. Benoit, O.P., *Revue Biblique,* 48 (1939), 130.

[18] Cf. Gächter, *loc. cit.*, p. 161.

[19] Cf. Moore, *Judaism,* II p. 120.

Not only Philo and Josephus but the New Testament itself shows some traces that the Jews did not consider marriage the only permissible or laudable state of life. While the words of our Lord in which He spoke of some who had made themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven, might be taken to refer to those who had determined to live a life of virginity after He had begun His preaching, many consider that they refer to some well known persons among the Jews, who even before the beginning of the Public Life were devoting themselves entirely to God, renouncing all thought of matrimony. But there is another fact which counts as a stronger argument. John the Baptist gave himself up to a life of penance and solitude from his youth. At the beginning of the Public Life the Precursor had advanced far beyond the age of twenty years, which some rabbis set down as the limit for a man to remain unmarried without violating the divine command, increase and multiply. Nevertheless, John did not marry, and yet he was held in the highest esteem. This can be clearly seen from the multitudes who went out into the desert to see and hear him, from the fear of Herod to put him to death, because the people esteemed John as a prophet, and from the affected ignorance of the enemies of John, the Scribes and Pharisees, who when asked by our Lord whence was John's baptism, did not dare assert that it was not from heaven, fearing the anger of the people. John the Baptist, so highly enshrined in the hearts of the Jewish people, was a virgin. So, also, was the great apostle of the Gentiles, who, nevertheless, could boast that he had outstripped all his contemporaries in his zeal for the Law and the tradition of his fathers. As a confirmatory argument we may note that when at Caesarea Philippi, our Lord asked the apostles, whom do men say that I am, they answered, some say

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[20] Cf. Holzmeister, *loc. cit.*, p. 75; Lagrange in Lk. 1:34; *Judaisme avant Jésus Christ* (1931) 585-6. Medebielle, *Dict. de la Bible, Suppl.* I 289.

Elias or Jeremias or one of the prophets. Now it is worth noting that the prophet Jeremias who in the last chapter of the Old Testament is portrayed as praying for the afflicted people of God and in this verse of the New Testament is shown to be one of the most esteemed of the prophets,—this Jeremias at the command of God had never taken a wife. From these instances one can conclude that the nobility of virginity was not entirely unknown among the Jewish people at the beginning of our era.[21]

The second fact which I said we should consider when weighing whether a vow of virginity was likely for Mary, is her unique position in the history of the world. Sometimes the principle has been invoked that we should argue from the ordinary state of things in the days of our Lady. Unless we have evidence that her ideas differed from those of the people about her, we should not assert that they did. From what has been said above I think one may doubt that the concept of virginity was so completely foreign to the people as is sometimes asserted. But aside from this, a further principle may be considered, namely whether in the case of so extraordinary a person as our Lady one can measure her by the norms applicable to ordinary people. One does not consider unlikely in a poetical genius beautiful thoughts uncommon to ordinary men, and we may naturally expect the saints to have higher knowledge of God and of religious truths than is found in those whose sole desire is to avoid Hell. In a similar way the Blessed Mother, even without invoking tradition, is portrayed in this same chapter of St. Luke as one without an equal in the favor of God. She is greeted by the angel, "Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee," a salutation of honor never granted even to the greatest saints of the old covenant. She becomes the Mother of God. She pronounces the Magnificat. Would it be rash then to suppose that one can conclude from these texts of Scripture that Mary would very likely have as much natural or infused knowledge about the nobility of virginity as did John the Baptist and St. Paul?[22]

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[21] E. Schürer notes that a life of virginity seemed to be logically contained in some teachings of the Old Testament (*A History of the Jewish People*, II, II, 1891) 211-2. Cf. Jerome, *adversus Jovinianum*, MPL, 24, 234-255.

[22] Cf. C. Sipcq, O.P., *Revue de Sciences philosophiques et theologiques*, 28 (1939), 144-5; K. Prümm, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 63 (1939), 128-9.

IV. Among those writers who hold that our Lady manifested her intention of remaining always a virgin, there is a dispute whether her words, "I know not man" indicate a true vow or only a firm resolution. For a vow may be cited St. Augustine, St. Thomas, Knabenbauer. Other authors such as Bardenhewer, Lagrange, Sickenberger say that the text indicates a resolution, but that other considerations need to be introduced to prove a vow.[23]

An objection may be raised against the idea of a vow that it would seem to go directly contrary to the essence of matrimony which conveys *jus in corpus.* In regard to this problem all agree that the consent of St. Joseph was required and was given. St. Thomas thinks that Mary made her vow only after the betrothal and with the knowledge and approval of St. Joseph. Others, among them Fr. Prat, consider that Mary had made a vow independently of marriage, and consented to enter the married state only when Joseph agreed to respect her vow. Why, then, should there have been a marriage? We do not know, but certain reasons are proposed. One given is that Mary may have been heir to some property and in order that this might remain within the tribe, she married Joseph her near relative (Bardenhewer). Another suggestion is that once Mary had married Joseph she would be thus freed from the importunities of other suitors for her hand. Therefore, the marriage would be a most effective protection for her vow or resolution (Lagrange). Finally, on the part of God there could be the motive to provide for the reputation of the Blessed Mother. Had she not been married, everyone who knew she had a child and did not know of the Virgin Birth, would have condemned her as an adultress. As it was, men would first think that Jesus was the son of Mary and Joseph, and later they could learn that Christ was born without an earthly father.

The argument for the vow may be taken from Maldonatus and Jansenius. Maldonatus argues, our Lady's statement, "I know not man" indicates a custom, just as the verse "why do we and the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples do not fast?" has the meaning, why are we accustomed to fast, but you have not that custom?[24] Furthermore, since our Lady says she does not know man and presents this as an impediment to the promised conception of a son, her words indicate a custom which excludes the possibility of the opposite action. Now an impossibility may come from a command of God or from a religious vow. Such an impossibility may come from a divine command, as in the case of a Christian who would say to persecutor, I do not adore idols, that is, I cannot adore them, because forbidden by divine law. An impossibility, also, may come from a vow, as in the case of a Carthusian who should say, I do not eat meat, that is, I cannot eat it, because my religious vow prevents me. In Mary's case the impossibility of knowing man cannot rise from divine law, since marriage is permissible, and must therefore arise from a vow.[25]

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[23] Cf. Holzmeister, *loc. cit.*, p. 74, who adds Augustine "qui primus de voto virginitatis in textibus modo citatis clare locutus est, alibi tantum de proposito virginitatis cogitavit: 'Illa miratio propositi est signum' (n. 8, *Sermo* 225, 2, MPL, 38, 1097). Quare utraque sententia vix certa discerni potest."

That Mary must have had a vow and not merely a resolution Jansenius argues from the following consideration. Unless her determination was a vow, her question, "How shall this be for I know not man" would be futile. Because in a matter of such great importance as the birth of the Messias, a resolution could be changed at one's prudent judgment. Therefore, our Lady's reply must be taken to indicate a resolution which cannot be changed: as if she said, "I cannot and I am not allowed to know man" and thus there would be the indication that the obligation was binding under sin. Furthermore, Mary must have been certain that her vow was approved by God. Otherwise, once she hears of the future conception announced to her by God's messenger, she would realize that her vow has been set aside by God and is not to be kept.[26]

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[24] Lagrange, while admitting that the words in themselves could indicate a custom, does not think they do so in the context (in Mk. 2:18). The sense of a present which includes the future occurs particularly in negative sentences in which one excludes some action or stable condition both for the present and for the future. Thus, Ps. 79 (80): 19, "non discedimus a te, vivificabis nos." Jn. 8:50, "I do not seek my glory" nor shall I ever seek it. "Promissio salvatoris (Jn. 3:18), 'qui credit in eum (Filium), non iudicatur,' parum nos consolaretur, nisi diceret, 'neque nunc neque umquam in futuro iudicabitur.' Recte Maldonatus: tale praesens 'significat consuetudinem quemadmodum abstemius dicat, non bibo vinum'" (Holzmeister, *loc. cit.*, p. 72).

[25] Maldonatus in Lk. 1:34.

[26] Cited by Knabenbauer, S.J., *Evangelium secundum Lucam* (ed. 2a 1926), 72.

Sometimes popular devotion has misunderstood the sense of our Lady's words.[27] To claim that Mary preferred to remain a virgin rather than become the Mother of God would be to misunderstand the relative dignity of the honor of being Mother of God, which far surpasses that of virginity alone. Or to state that Mary refused to become the Mother of God unless her virginity was safeguarded, would be to neglect the sovereignty of God who can command any of His creatures to marry. A famous herald of our Lady's glories, St. Bernard, has ably presented the thoughts of the Blessed Mother at the time of the Annunciation. She asks not shall this be done, but how shall it be done; as if she said: since my Lord knows that His handmaid has vowed not to know man, by what law and in what order does it please Him that it be done? If I must break the vow to give birth to such a son, I rejoice for the son and grieve for my resolution; yet His will be done. If, however, I am to conceive as a virgin, which certainly, if it pleases Him, is possible, then I know truly that He has looked upon the lowliness of His handmaid.[28]

The admiration which many expressed for Fr. Haugg's excellent historical exposé of patristic training on the text of Lk. 1:34 did not bring many Catholic scriptural scholars to accept the central thesis of his book. Of two articles on the subject Fr. Holzmeister disagreed with Haugg, while Fr. Gächter favored the interpretation, as at least probable. In the reviews I have been able to consult[29] one author, Fr. Martin, S.J., of Louvain, was noncommittal, while all the others were opposed to the theory. These were P. Benoit, O.P., Canon Coppens of Louvain, C. Spicq, O.P., Prümm, S.J., Wennemer, S.J., and Steinmetzer. Therefore, the common interpretation among exegetes of the Church today seems to be that the text "I know not man" proves at least a resolution of perpetual virginity.

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[27] Holzmeister, *loc. cit.* p. 74.

[28] Knabenbauer, *Luc.*, p. 72.

[29] I was unable to consult the review of Ketter, *Pastor Bonus*, 49 (1938), 266; K. Pieper, *Theologie u. Glaube*, 31 (1939), 212. C. Martin's review appeared in *Nouv. Rev. Theol.*, 65 (1938), 1259-60 and Wennemer's in *Scholastik*, 14 (1939), 612-3., and Steinmetzer's in *Theol. Revue*, 39 (1938), 366-7.

"SPIRIT" IN THE SECOND CHAPTER OF FIRST CORINTHIANS

REV. DANIEL W. MARTIN, C.M.

Prat, speaking of the use of the term "spirit" in St. Paul, says: "Aucun mot peut-être ne cause autant de perplexité aux exégètes du Nouveau Testament. Sur 145 cas où il est employé par Saint Paul, le sens *précis* de la moitié demeure plus ou moins douteux et discutable."

Allo[1] distinguishes in St. Paul seven possible suppositions of the term as relating to man and five in relation to God. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a wide variety of interpretations of the passages in which "spirit" occurs. The following discussion will be confined to the six verses of the second chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians in which we find the term, in an effort to determine precisely the objective reality to which St. Paul refers in each instance, and, where it is not immediately evident, the probative force of each usage which refers to the personal Spirit of God.

These six passages fall within the first part of St. Paul's argument against the party spirit which had arisen in Corinth. One of the occasions for the rise of such a spirit was the popularity gained by the neophyte Apollos among the Corinthians by reason of his oratorical powers. Paul's discourses seemed flat in contrast with those of Apollos; they were devoid of all that which "wisdom" connoted to the Hellenistic mind—both deep philosophical speculation and artistic skill in self-expression. Consequently, the Apostle's first task in repairing the bond of unity among his Christians at Corinth was to give an appraisal of what they called wisdom, to show its uselessness in the preaching of the Gospel, and to point out the true wisdom, "mysterious, hidden, which God foreordained before the world unto our glory, a wisdom which none of the rulers of this world has known" (1 Cor. 2:7-8). This wisdom he has received, and this wisdom he speaks; if he has not spoken it to them, it is not that he does not possess it, but that they cannot receive it. It is in this background, in which St. Paul discusses his preaching at Corinth and the nature, source, and effects of true wisdom, that we find the six passages which form the subject of this discusison.

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[1] Allo, E. B., "Sagesse et Pneuma dans la Première Épître aux Corinthiens" *Revue Biblique,* 43 (1934), pp. 323-326.

"And my speech and my preaching were not in the persuasive words of wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that your faith might rest, not on the wisdom of men, but on the power of God" (1 Cor. 2:4).

The portion of this fourth verse with which we are immediately concerned is the phrase "in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power." Origen, Calmet, Menochius, and Cornelius à Lapide see here two distinct and separate things to which Paul is referring: "the demonstration of the Spirit" and "the demonstration of power." "Spirit" is, according to this interpretation, either the prophecies of the Old Testament, or the zeal of St. Paul, or the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit, or the sublimity of Paul's doctrine, or the power of the Holy Spirit. "Power" is almost universally interpreted as referring to miracles. Most commentators, however, see here a hendiadys, meaning "the demonstration of the power of the Spirit." The latter opinion is far the more probable in view of the Pauline use of this expression elsewhere without the hendiadys. For example:

> Now may the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that you may abound in hope and in the power of the Holy Spirit—*ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἁγίου* (Rom. 15:13).

> For I do not make bold to mention anything but what Christ has wrought through me to bring about the obedience of the Gentiles by word and deed, with mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Holy Spirit—*ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἁγίου* (Rom. 15:18-19).

> For this reason I bend my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . that he may grant you from his glorious riches to be strengthened with power through His Spirit—*δυνάμει διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου* (Eph. 3:14-15).

Moreover, if we do not consider "the demonstration of the Spirit and power" as a hendiadys, we must adopt interpretations which, as we shall see, hardly flow from the course of the argument Paul is here using.

Even among that majority of exegetes who see here a hendiadys, there is a great variety of interpretations of the passage. Many of them consider "power" as a reference to miracles. Others seem to interpret it as grace, though it is difficult at times to know whether they are giving the direct exegesis of the term, "power," or are describing how conversions were made in Apostolic times. The miracle-interpretation is highly improbable, since, as Cornely remarks (*ad locum*) we would not expect that Paul would have appealed to miracles as the principle basis of his preaching just after he had likened the Jews who ask for signs to the Greeks who look for their spurious wisdom. Not only that; the miracle-interpretation is simply aside from the point in this context.

We are here in the course of Paul’s justification of his doctrine and of his mode of expounding that doctrine. In connection with this passage, therefore, we must consider the passages which precede and follow it. There are four texts in the first and second chapters of this epistle, within a general context of 19 verses, whose striking similarity is more than a matter of chance.

> For the doctrine of the cross of Christ is foolishness to those who perish, but to those who are saved, that is, to us, it is the power of God (1 Cor. 1:18).
>
> But we, for our part, preach a crucified Christ—to the Jews indeed a stumbling block, and to the Gentiles foolishness, but to those who are called, both Jews and Gentiles, Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God (1 Cor. 1:23-24).
>
> And my speech and my preaching were not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power (1 Cor. 2:4).
>
> That your faith might rest not on the wisdom of men, but on the power of God (1 Cor. 2:5).

If we group the key expressions, we see a striking similarity of ideas running throughout these passages:

the doctrine of the cross of Christ	foolishness to those who perish	power to those who are saved
crucified Christ	foolishness to the Gentiles	to us the power of God and the wisdom of God
your faith in Christ	not based on the wisdom of men	based on the power of God
my preaching of the cross of Christ	not by persuasive human wisdom	by the demonstration of the Spirit and of power.

Now, it is not doing violence to St. Paul’s idea to substitute “foolishness” for “not wisdom” and vice versa. Therefore, we have four statements or their equivalents predicating of the cross of Christ foolishness in the eyes of the world. We have, also, three statements predicating of the doctrine of Christ the power of God in the eyes of the faithful. The other statement is that the preaching of the cross of Christ was "in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power." Preaching and demonstration are in a sense correlative. We have left, then, the predication "the power of the Spirit" made of the "cross of Christ," whereas in three other contexts "the power of God" is predicated of the "cross of Christ."

Furthermore, in our passage, "human wisdom" is contrasted with "Spirit and power" whereas in three other verses its equivalent is contrasted with the "power of God." Hence, "Spirit and power," or better, "the power of the Spirit" seems to be in this passage almost the equivalent of the "power of God." Therefore, St. Paul's argument here is that not only is the doctrine of the cross itself the power of God to the faithful, but that the very demonstration or demonstrative force of his preaching of the cross of Christ was from the power of the Spirit, with the result that the faith of the Corinthians had for its cause as well as its object the power of God. Moreover, when St. Paul here attributes the force of his teaching to the active power of God, he is quite in harmony with the practical conclusion he draws in chapter 3 from the whole of chapters 1 and 2: "What then is Apollos? What indeed is Paul? They are servants of him whom you have believed—servants according as God has given to each to serve. I have planted, Apollos watered, but God has given the growth" (vv. 5-6).

Does Paul, then, mean by the "power of the Spirit" nothing more or less than the "power of God"? Allo admits the possibility. But the use of "Spirit" as referring simply to God is unusual in St. Paul. Allo mentions only this passage and 2 Corinthians 3:18 as even possibilities of this use. Such a meaning applied here would be all the more striking in that it is both preceded and immediately followed by the other expression "the power of God." We are justified, therefore, in looking for some reason for the change from "God" to "Spirit."

It will be remarked that in the first chapter when St. Paul speaks of the "power of God" he is speaking simply of the doctrine of the cross as an existing fact. In the second chapter, verse five, when again he mentions the "power of God," he is speaking of the basis of faith. In the fourth verse, however, there is question of the communication of belief in the doctrine of Christ; such a communication is a work ordained to sanctification, therefore a work of grace. And since the work of sanctification throughout the New Testament is appropriated to the Holy Spirit, St. Paul's change from "power of God" to "power of the Spirit" would seem to be a clear and intentional reference to the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier. Hence, we conclude that "Spirit" in this verse refers to the Holy Spirit.

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"But to us God has revealed them through his Spirit (*διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος*). For the Spirit searches all things, even the deep things of God" (1 Cor. 2:10).

St. Paul now takes up the other aspect of the redemptive work of Christ. He has already made reference in the first chapter to "Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God," and to "Christ Jesus, who has become for us God-given wisdom." He turns now from the subject-matter and manner of his preaching at Corinth to discuss more fully the nature and origin of this wisdom and its relation to that worldly wisdom on which the Corinthians had been laying so much emphasis. After positing the complete transcendence of divine wisdom over human nature, he shows how he and the other Apostles have received this divine wisdom, for, in truth, "wisdom we speak among those who are mature." Wisdom has been revealed to them by God through the "Spirit," since the "Spirit" knows the hidden mysteries of God.

There is no question among exegetes that the "Spirit" here is divine. St. Paul describes it as knowing all the hidden mysteries of the divine life. The addition of "his" to "through the Spirit" in $\aleph^3$ DEFGL Syrr. Sah. Arm. Auth. Ver. and our own Vulgate, though rejected as a correct reading, testifies to a primitive and universal consensus to the interpretation of "Spirit" as divine.

Further, there is practical unanimity among commentators that the "Spirit" is actually the Holy Spirit. In the first place, as we have seen, it is very questionable if "Spirit" in St. Paul is ever used of the divinity without meaning the Holy Spirit. Besides, we have here reference to a matter of revelation which is appropriated throughout the New Testament to the Holy Spirit. There would be no reason, therefore, to cast any doubt upon the actual meaning here.

But a question which does arise is whether the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit can be demonstrated from this passage itself, prescinding from Paul's other teaching on the Spirit, as some have held. To demonstrate the divine personality in a given passage, we should have in that passage the explicit name of a divine person, or the predication of an action proper to the divine person, or finally an opposition set up within the Deity between two or more terms. Now, "spirit" is not a proper name of the Holy Spirit. Secondly, revelation and knowledge are common to the three divine Persons; and, thirdly, since neither "God" nor "spirit" is a proper name of a Person, there is no opposition expressed between them. Therefore Allo says of this passage:

> Que cet 'esprit' soit le Saint-Esprit personnel, il n'y a pas à en douter, d'après la théologie générale de l'Apotre. Mais on ne pourrait encore établir par le seul verset present, où l'Esprit n'est presenté, d'abord que comme l'intermediaire par lequel se fait la communication de la Sagesse, et ensuite si l'on rapproche 10bc de 11, comme un principle intérieure de connaissance en Dieu lui-même.[2]

Hence we conclude that in this passage the "Spirit" is most certainly divine; that this "Spirit" actually refers to the Third Person of the Trinity; but that it would be impossible to show from this passage that the Holy Spirit is a distinct Person.

* * * * *

"For who among men knows the things of a man save the spirit of the man which is in him? Even so, the things of God no one knows but the Spirit of God" (1 Cor. 2:11).

In this verse, St. Paul, in confirmation of the preceding verse, institutes a comparison to show that not only does the Spirit know the things of God, but that he alone knows them.

It is evident that in its first use in this verse, "spirit" refers simply to human intelligence or psychological conscience; it is the human spirit without reference to any supernatural principle.

"Spirit" as used in the latter part of the verse is the same "spirit" which is spoken of in verse 10; the conjunction "for" links the two beyond question. This text, moreover, is used generally by the Fathers as well as by the later writers as a classic proof of the divinity of the Holy Spirit, and, therefore, of his consubstantiality with the Father and the Son. This is not to say that there has been no objection to this interpretation outside the Catholic Church. But the objection is made on grounds much more fundamental than the exegesis of this passage. Badcock, for example, writing in the *Expository Times,* has this comment:

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[2] *Allo, Première Épître aux Corinthiens*, p. 45.

> Here St. Paul would seem to be drawing an analogy between the relation of his own spirit to man and the relation of the Holy Spirit to God; but consideration shows that this is not so. The deep things of God are revealed to us (Christians) by virtue of a supernatural gift of spiritual insight, and the contrast is between the natural man (v 14) without this gift, and he that is spiritual who judgeth (*or* examineth) all things (v 15).
>
> I am not casting doubts upon the doctrine that "The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God," but I am saying that it would be difficult to prove the third statement by the *words* of Scripture.[3]

It would be interesting to know just what Dr. Badcock understands by his "supernatural gift of spiritual insight." It is not sanctifying grace, since St. Paul is speaking of the Apostles and their collaborators, that is, we who "speak wisdom among those who are mature"; now certainly the Corinthians also possessed sanctifying grace. Is this supernatural gift, then, some supernatural gift of the ministry in virtue of which the Apostles can of themselves perceive the hidden things of God, so as to manifest them to others? How, then, does the faith of the Corinthians "rest on the power of God" and not rather on the Apostles themselves? Furthermore, into what does this gift give the Apostles insight? Not, certainly, into revelation; the gift, according to Dr. Badcock, is revelation. Apparently, then, into God himself, so that the exegesis here resolves itself into an immanentist or intuitionist theory of God and religion which is quiet unacceptable to the Church, and at variance with both philosophy and revealed doctrine.

It remains now to be seen whether this passage adds anything of itself to our knowledge of the personality of the Holy Spirit. Brown[4] quotes Mylne, *The Holy Trinity,* p. 193, in the affirmative:

> What gives this passage its crucial importance is the parallel between the spirit of a man, as distinguished from the rest of his per-

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[3] Badcock, "'The Spirit' and Spirit in the New Testament," *Expository Times,* 45 (1933-1934), p. 221.

[4] Brown, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (Indian Church Commentary), p. 43.

sonality, and One who is called the Spirit of God; for this directly indicates a distinction within the Godhead, affirms that a Being called the Spirit carries on some mysterious action within the Divine nature which belongs to himself alone.

It is difficult to share with Brown and Mylne their enthusiasm. The comparison here between the spirit of man and the Spirit of God does not justify a conclusion to the personality of the Spirit. On the other hand, however, the comparison does not justify an interpretation which would exclude in this verse, and therefore in the preceding verse, any possible reference to a personal Holy Spirit. The personality of the Holy Spirit is not contrary to the parallel which St. Paul presents; it is simply beyond that parallel. Any comparison can be reduced to absurdity, if it is pushed beyond the point which the author intended to illustrate. And this comparison is evidently intended merely to explain how adequately the Spirit, personal or impersonal, comprehends the "deep things of God." Moreover, the very wording here indicates that the analogy is imperfect; after "the spirit of the man," St. Paul adds "which is in him," a phrase which is significantly absent after "the Spirit of God."[5]

We conclude, therefore, that "the Spirit of God" in this passage refers to the Holy Spirit; that it adds nothing of itself to the knowledge of the personality of the Holy Spirit as seen in the preceding verse; but that it does not exclude this personality.

* * * * *

"Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit that is from God, that we may know the things that have been given us by God" (1 Cor. 2:12).

After his brief digression in vv. 10b and 11 on the knowledge of the Spirit, St. Paul returns to the topic which he has been treating—the wisdom of God as contrasted with the wisdom of the world. This return from the digression of 10b and 11 is indicated by the introductory particle "now" (in Greek, the adversative δέ) which introduces the new statement.

In attempting to determine the meaning of "spirit" in this passage, we shall first discuss "the spirit of the world." In a passage which contrasts two objects, the first term should clarify the second, at least by negation; for it would be useless to deny an unknown quantity, the better to clarify some other object. Further, it is the more logical process to arise from the natural to the supernatural.

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[5] It seems unnecessary as well as inconclusive to appeal for proof to "the spirit which is from God" in the next verse, as Findlay and Meyer do (*ad locum*). It is very doubtful if "the spirit which is from God" directly refers to the Holy Spirit, or even to a divine Spirit.

"The spirit of the world" has been the subject of much speculation among the exegetes. A good bit of this speculation, as we shall see, has lost all sight of the argument which St. Paul set out to develop, and of the train of his thought in developing it. Of the remote context, it is sufficient here to recall that St. Paul in the first chapter showed the incompatibility of the wisdom of the world with the doctrine of the cross of Christ, "the power of God and the wisdom of God"; that at the beginning of the second chapter, he insisted that in his preaching he had relied not on the convincing power of wisdom, but on the active power of the Spirit. Then he turned to the topic with which we are now concerned, the true wisdom which is from God.

The points of St. Paul's argument from vv. 6-11 may be sketched thus: we speak not the wisdom of the world, but the wisdom of God. The wisdom of God, the deep things of God, utterly transcends man. We, however, know them because the Spirit who comprehends all has revealed these deep things to us. From this, St. Paul concludes: "Now we have not received the spirit of the world but the spirit that is from God."

Unless we are prepared to introduce here a wholly new idea which is neither suggested nor warranted by the context, we must conclude that in St. Paul's current of thought, "the spirit of the world" is practically synonymous with the "wisdom of the world," of verse 6, and "human wisdom" which in the very next verse is contrasted with "learning of the Spirit."[6]

The contrary opinion, that "the spirit of the world" is the devil, is unacceptable in the context and unjustifiable in its deduction. First, the method of deduction.

Mac Rory, whose argument is the simplest, assumes that "the spirit which is from God" is the Holy Spirit, and then naturally concludes from the parallelism to a personal spirit of the world, which can be only the devil. Cornely likewise assumes the personal Spirit of God; then, reasoning that you cannot have, without necessity, a spirit in the proper sense and a spirit in the metaphorical sense in the same phrase, he concludes to the devil, the author of false human wisdom, as the spirit of the world. The manifest objection to these interpertations is that it would be very difficult to demonstrate that "the spirit which is from God" must be the Holy Spirit. And even granting the possibility, further objection may be taken to making the devil the author of false human wisdom as such, except in a very remote sense, which is altogether inadmissable in the parallelism.

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[6] Cf. Estius, *In Omnes Pauli Epistolas*, t. II, p. 140; Allo, *op. cit.* pp. 46-47; Aquinas, *In Omnes Divi Pauli Epistolas*, t. I, pp. 268-269; Robertson-Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (International Critical Commentary), pp. 45-46.

Meyer's interpretation begins by seeing something diabolic in those "rulers of this world" mentioned in verse 6. In this, he overlooks St. Paul's definition of them in v. 8 as those who "have crucified the Lord of glory." He then equates "world" with the sphere of action of the devil, and concludes that since here "spirit" is opposed to the Spirit of God and is objective, it must be the devil "who has blinded the minds of unbelievers."[7] In addition to the objections already raised against Cornely's method, we may further protest here against begging the question by defining "world" as the sphere of action of the devil. "World" occasionally does have that meaning in St. Paul;[8] but if Meyer means, as he seems to mean, that the terms are interchangeable, the statement is simply false. "World," even in its ethical sense, is not even usually synonymous with "the sphere of action of the devil."

Besides these questions of method, the interpretation of the spirit of the world as the devil is meaningless in this context. Should it have been necessary for Paul to labor the point that he had not received diabolic wisdom, or the devil himself? It is unthinkable that he might have paraphrased this section: "But to us God has revealed them through his Spirit. For the Spirit searches all things, even the deep things of God... Now we have not received diabolic wisdom (or even: we have not been possessed by the devil) but we have received the spirit that is from God." The Christians at Corinth may have been disappointing; they were not that disappointing. If they were, St. Paul's introduction in 1:4-9 is even more astonishing than the conditions at Corinth.[9]

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[7] Meyer, *A Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistles to the Corinthians*, pp. 53-54.

[8] Stanton, "World," *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. IV, p. 940.

The meaning of "the spirit which is from God" is more difficult to determine than is "the spirit of the world." There are only two meanings to be seriously considered. Either it is the work of the Spirit in the soul, or it is the Spirit himself working in the soul; the distinction is between the gift and the Person; and since "the Person is in the gift, and the activity of the recipient is the work of the divine Indweller," the distinction at best will be subtle and without too sharp a precision.

We have alluded above to the difficulty of showing from the words themselves that this "spirit" must refer to the Holy Spirit. We may surmise, though none admit the fact, that some exegetes have been influenced by the similarity of this passage with the Johannine passages on the Holy Spirit; there is undoubtedly sufficient similarity to allow of an interpretation which makes this "spirit" the Holy Spirit. But by comparing the texts, we see that there is not enough to necessitate this interpretation. The pertinent texts are:

1 Cor. 2:12	Jn. 14:26	Jn. 15:26
Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit that is from God	But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, etc.	But when the Advocate has come, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness concerning me.

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[9] This expression, "the spirit of the world," has occasioned other interpretations also, which deserve mention rather than discussion. For example, Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 43-45: "... that philosophic or poetic inspiration which is given as often to Christians as to non-Christians—we cannot imagine that a Plato or a Shakespeare or a Kabir or a Tulsi Das could have become what they were without some influence of the Holy Spirit." Godet, *Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, ad loc.:* "... a principle of knowledge and invention, enthusiasm and exaltation. This is that which the pagans called the Muse... With this spirit which rises, so to speak, from the heart of the Cosmos, the Apostle contrasts the Divine Spirit." Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 54, quotes two others, no less interesting: "Billroth's explanation: that it is the *non-absolute* spirit, the finite, in so far as it persists for itself and does not resolve itself into the divine... Hoffman's exposition: that it is the spirit in virtue of which the world is conscious of itself, knowing itself however only in that way in which alone its sinful estrangement from God leaves it possible for it to do so, not in God, namely, but out of God."

By comparing these texts, we see several notable differences. First Corinthians speaks of "spirit," not "Holy Spirit" or "Advocate"; there is no reference in First Corinthians to a mission of the "spirit"; it is indeed "from God" but that is not necessarily a mission; the *terminus a quo* in First Corinthians is God, not the Father; and, at least in Allo's opinion, "from" (ἐκ) in First Corinthians marks a separation from the divinity which "from" (παρά) in John does not.[10]

It would be equally difficult to show that St. Paul is continuing his reference to numerically the same Spirit of which he spoke in 10a,b and 11b. In the first place, the preceding clauses following the first mention of "spirit" in 10 a were both introduced by "for" (γάρ;) verse 12 here is introduced by the adversative δέ. And secondly, in verses 10 and 11, there is reference to "God through the Spirit" or to "the Spirit of God"; in verse 12, the reference is to "the spirit which is from God."

These arguments, let us repeat, do not purport to exclude the Holy Spirit interpretations; they are intended merely to show that such an interpretation cannot be established merely from the words "the spirit which is from God" or from St. Paul's previous references to the Holy Spirit.

If we look at the verse as a whole, we see that in the first part "spirit" is impersonal; therefore, the presumption is that "spirit" in 12b is also impersonal, unless some adequate reason can be given to show that St. Paul intended to override the force of the parallel. Father Prat believes that such a reason can be assigned. This is his comment:

> L'esprit qui vient de Dieu pourrait être à la rigeur, en vertu de la parallélisme, la mentalité surnaturelle, sagesse inspirée du Dieu. Mais si l'on songe avec quelle facilité l'Apôtre passe des effets de l'Esprit-Saint à l'Esprit-Saint lui-même, si l'on compare ce qu'il dit un peu plus bas (v. 13 et 14: *in doctrina Spiritus, quae sunt Spiritus Dei*) on n'hésitera pas à croire qu'il parle ici encore de la personne du Saint-Esprit.[11]

The reasons which Prat advances, then, that "spirit" is the Holy Spirit and not the supernatural mentality or wisdom inspired of God are that (despite the demands of the parallelism): a) St. Paul easily passes from the gifts to the Person; b) in vv. 13 and 14, he is speaking of the Person. We have already remarked above the ease with which, in references of this kind, the gift and the Person may be interchanged. And that explains just as well how Paul could pass from the Person in v. 11 to the gift in v. 12 and back to the Person in v. 13, as it does how he could suddenly substitute in 12b the Person for the gift. Prat's second argument, if it is not already invalidated by the first, supposes that a numerical identity can be shown between the "spirit" in vv. 12, 13, and 14. In verse 12, the "spirit" is received from God; in v. 13, the "Spirit" teaches; in v. 14, not "the spirit," but "the things that are of the Spirit" are received. It is hard to see how one could establish a necessary identity between a "spirit" received, a "Spirit" teaching, and a "Spirit" whose things are received. The identity may be there, but it is still to be demonstrated.

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[10] Allo, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[11] Prat, *La Théologie de Saint Paul*, 19 ed., vol. II pp. 172-173, note.

Therefore, there does not seem to be sufficient reason for overriding the presumption constituted by the use of the parallelism. And since "spirit" in 12a is impersonal, it should be also in 12b. This impersonal "spirit" which is from God is grace ordinated to knowledge, "that we may know the things that have been given us by God"; or as St. Hilary of Poitiers says in comment on this text: "Ut enim natura humani corporis cessantibus officii sui causis erit otiosa . . . ita et animus humanus nisi per fidem donum spiritus hauserit, habebit quidem naturam Deum intelligendi, sed lumen scientiae non habebit.[12]

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"These things also we speak, not in words taught by human wisdom, but in the learning of the Spirit, combining spiritual with spiritual" (1 Cor. 2:13).

In this verse, St. Paul returns to the subject of his preaching with which he began this explanation of divine wisdom in verse 6: "Wisdom, however, we speak among those who are mature." This verse is the personal application of the preceding vv. 8-12, just as vv. 1-5 of this chapter are the application of 1:18-31.

There is a variant in the text of this verse which is useful as a guide to the traditional interpretation. D^3ELP Aeth. Auth. Ver. and Syr. add "holy" to "spirit." It is generally agreed that it is not the better reading, but it does show an early and a rather widespread interpretation given this text, referring it to the Holy Spirit.

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[12] *De Trinitate,* ii, 35, MPL 10, col. 74-75.

The Vulgate, on the other hand, though it follows the better reading, has obscured the precise meaning of the text. The Greek text places in immediate juxta-position ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις and διδακτοῖς πνεύματος. Obviously, as commentators agree, λόγοις is to be understood with διδακτοῖς πνεύματος. Now the Vulgate has rendered the first phrase: “in doctis humanae sapientiae verbis”; and the second: “in doctrina Spiritus.” “Doctrina” in the second phrase introduces a stative connotation with the result that it does not represent the idea either of διδακτοῖς or of “doctis.” And when placed in contrast with “doctis humanae sapientiae verbis,” it introduces, besides the intentional contrast between “human wisdom” and “the Spirit,” a wholly unwarranted contrast between διδακτοῖς and διδακτοῖς, thus obscuring the role of the Spirit.

The determination of the precise sense of “spirit” in this verse partakes of some of the difficulty of the preceding verse. There is the same elusive distinction between the Person and the gift, and there is the same contrast of the “spirit” and the impersonal human wisdom. The weight of authority, however, is overwhelmingly in favor of seeing here a reference to the Holy Spirit. The significant variant, “holy,” has already been noted. Commentators are unanimous in supporting this interpretation.

There are, moreover, internal reasons for overriding the parallel with the impersonal human wisdom and seeing here the Holy Spirit. Saint Paul’s argument is that he has not only received the divine wisdom through the Holy Spirit, but that he also speaks this wisdom in words taught by the Spirit. If the Spirit through whom the things are revealed is the Holy Spirit, *a pari* the Spirit who teaches the necessary words to express these things should also be the Holy Spirit. This verse, consequently, affords a parallel to verse 4 in which Saint Paul attributes the demonstrative force of his preaching to the Holy Spirit.

It may seem arbitrary to overrule the parallel in verse 13 after refusing to do so in verse 12. Verse 13, however, is not simply a continuation of verse 12. It adds an entirely new factor, that of speech, which takes us back to the preceding major proposition of Saint Paul’s argument in verse 10, and at the same time establishes a remarkable parallel with verse 4. Consequently, we cannot here be guided simply by the exegesis of verse 12.

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"But the sensual man does not perceive the things that are of the Spirit of God, for it is foolishness to him and he cannot understand, because it is examined spiritually" (1 Cor. 2:14).

St. Paul here concludes that the reason why the cross of Christ and the wisdom of God are foolishness to certain men is that they will not receive the teachings of the Spirit. These men are the "psychics" or the sensual men who "ne conçoivent et ne recherchent d'autres connaisances que celles qui sont accessibles à leur raison naturelle; ils ignorent ou dedaignent celles que fournit l'Eprit de Dieu."[13]

There can be no question of the "Spirit of God" in this passage. It is the same as the "Spirit" of vv. 10, 11, and 13. It adds nothing to what we already know of the "Spirit" from those passages, and therefore needs no further comment.

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[13] Allo, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

THE THESIS OF REALIZED ESCHATOLOGY

A STUDY IN FORM CRITICISM

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Though much has been written in recent years on the subject of *Formgeschichte,* or Form Criticism, yet but little on this subject has appeared in English Catholic journals or periodicals. On the other hand, non-Catholic publications within, roughly speaking, the past twenty years have carried many notices and articles for and against this latest phase of rationalistic attack on the authenticity of the gospels.

In its origin Form Criticism was a movement in the field of Literary Criticism of the Gospels. It is a further refinement of Source Criticism for, accepting the results of the latter as to the priority of Mark, the existence of the sayings document called "Q," and the possibility of other written sources used by Matthew and Luke independently, Form Criticism seeks to go behind all these written sources to investigate the primitive tradition of the Gospel in its formative period. According to this theory the evangelists were not authors but merely compilers and editors whose work consisted in collecting, choosing, grouping, re-shaping and handing down the forms of the gospel tradition. "The ultimate origin of the Form," the critics say, "is primitive Christianity itself." This was the *Sitz im Leben,* or setting in life out of which the narratives and sayings of the Gospel sprang.

The real founders of Form Criticism are three: Martin Dibelius, Rudolf Bultmann, and Karl Ludwig Schmidt, whose books appeared in Germany in 1919 and 1921.[1] Though working independetly, all three scholars were on a similar quest, namely, to discover the primitive Gospel tradition and the laws of its formation and transmission. Schmidt, working on Mark, concluded that the framework of the gospel is the work of the evangelist, the links being artificial and seldom historical. Geographical details are not to be trusted, neither are notes of time and place which were obtained by Mark from purely internal considerations. Dibelius is said to be a conservative form-critic. He finds the key to the origin of the gospel forms in the needs of missionary preaching in the early Church. By missionary preaching he understands all forms of missionary propaganda, preaching, sermons in worship, and catechetical instruction, "In the beginning was the word, i.e., the sermon," he says. The need of preaching thus created the primitive literary forms. Bultmann may be said to be a radical form-critic. He fails to see either that the primary aim of the Church was preaching or that the material of the gospels was determined by such preaching. He would hold that controversies in the early Church were the reason for the formation of the gospel forms. Accordingly Bultmann's classification of these forms differs from that of Dibelius. In Bultmann's work much of the gospel material is considered as the product of the Apostolic Church and the figure of Christ fades from view.

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[1] Martin Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen, 1919); Rudolf Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (Göttingen, 1921); K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (Berlin, 1919).

From the Catholic point of view Father Florit has made a study of the application of the method of Form Criticism to the Passion Narrative;[2] Father McGinley has made a similar study with regard to the Healing Narratives in the Synoptics.[3] In this article I would like to consider a particular application of the principles of Form Criticism to the nature of the Kingdom of God as found in the Synoptics.

Dr. C. H. Dodd, Norris-Hulse Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, published in London in 1935 a book entitled: *The Parables of the Kingdom.* In this work Dr. Dodd proposes the theory that the Kingdom preached by Christ was a "realized" eschatological kingdom. We recall that the eschatological school holds that Christ preached a Kingdom of God which was to be exclusively eschatological and which He thought would be inaugurated shortly after His death. On the contrary, Dr. Dodd maintains that the Kingdom Christ preached was so exclusively present that there was no thought of any further future inauguration of it. A skillful and judicious use of the method of Form Criticism is made in establishing this theory, according to one reviewer;[4] while another finds that: "Dodd has given a positive construction of the views of Dibelius that the sayings of

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[2] Florit: *Il Metodo della Storia delle Forme* (Rome, Pont. Bibl. Inst. 1935).

[3] McGinley, S.J.: "Form Criticism and the Healing Narratives of the Synoptic Gospels," *Theological Studies,* a series of seven articles beginning in v. 2, 1941, pp. 451-480.

[4] *Journal of Theological Studies,* v. 37, 1936, p. 290.

Jesus were originally gathered together for a hortatory end and that there was a tendency of the Churches to derive as much exhortation as possible from the words of Jesus."[5]

In this article I propose first, to explain the theory of Dr. Dodd; and secondly, to discuss the validity of the form-critical concept of the *Sitz im Leben* of the early Christian community, since it is on the basis of this that Dr. Dodd attributes to the primitive community much of the eschatology now found in the Synoptic Gospels. In a subsequent article I hope to consider in detail some of the parables of the kingdom to see whether or not they can bear the interpretation of "Realized Eschatology" which Dr. Dodd wishes to assign to them.

THESIS OF PROFESSOR DODD

In the "earliest tradition" Dodd finds that Christ uses the expression "The Kingdom of God" in meanings which fit well within the framework of contemporary Jewish usage of the term as found in the apocalyptic literature. Thus the saying in Mk. 10:15: "whoever does not *receive the Kingdom of God* as a little child will never enter into it," is parallel to the rabbinic expression: "to take upon oneself the *malkuth* of heaven"; while the hope of a future manifestation of God's kingdom finds a parallel in, among other sayings, the central petition of the Lord's prayer: "Thy kingdom come." This future manifestation contains, at times, apocalyptic elements and corresponds to the rabbinic term "the life of the Age to Come"—a far more usual expression in Jewish sources, according to Dodd, than the "Kingdom of God" to express the great object of hope, the *eschaton*. Accordingly, the Kingdom of God may be "accepted" here and now, and its blessings will be enjoyed in the end by those who have fulfilled the necessary conditions.

But there are other sayings of Christ which do not fall within the framework of contemporary Jewish usage. It is these that Dodd takes as giving the real clue to the whole teaching of Christ on the Kingdom of God. These sayings speak of a Kingdom to be "recognized" rather than "accepted." It is not so much a question of "taking upon oneself" the *malkuth* of God in the sense of submitting oneself unquestionably to the Law, but rather of being aware that the *malkuth* has "come upon you," that is to

[5] E. Basil Redlich: *Form Criticism*, London, 1939, p. 160.

say, that God manifests His sovereign power in a way that has not been manifested before: "If I, by the finger of God, cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God has come upon you" (Lk. 11:20). "The 'eschatological' Kingdom of God," says Dodd, "is proclaimed as a present fact, which men must recognize, whether by their actions they accept or reject it."[6]

Truly basic to the establishment of Dodd's thesis are the texts of Mk. 15, *ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* and Mt. 12:28; Lk. 11:20, *ἔφθασεν . . . ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.* All three, Dodd maintains, should be translated: "The Kingdom of God has come."[7] In the light of this announcement the whole of Christ's teaching on the Kingdom is to be interpreted. This Kingdom is a new and final manifestation of the power of God against all the evils of the world: "If I, by the finger of God, cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God has come upon you" (Lk. 11:20). Christ's answer to the disciples of the Baptist had the same import: "the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise" (Mt. 11:5). Hence, in the ministry of Christ Himself the divine power is released in effective conflict with evil and this, Dodd says, "is the fixed point from which our interpretation of the teaching regarding the Kingdom of God must start. It represents the ministry of Jesus as "realized eschatology," that is to say, as the impact upon this world of the "power of the world to come" in a series of events, unprecedented and unrepeatable, now in actual progress."[8] As a consequence, the whole scheme of Jewish eschatological expectation was dislocated, for the final manifestation of God's power which they awaited had moved from the sphere of future expectation into that of present, realized experience in one aspect at least, viz., that of its "coming."

Accordingly, Dodd holds that the whole teaching of Christ had reference to the "crisis" which His coming brought about, or rather, with Rudolf Otto, His coming marked the "crisis" of the manifest coming of the Kingdom of God; the "crisis" of "Realized Echatology." Consequently, if we wish to understand the immediately practical application of Christ's teaching we must see it in this "setting in life" of His ministry. The parables, likewise, are thus to be interpreted and so, as originally used by Christ, had no reference to the future but were intended rather to bring His hearers to recognize what their conduct should be in face of the tremendous "crisis" which confronted them. Will they or will they not see that the Kingdom of God has come?

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[6] C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London, 1935), p. 44. Reference to this work will hereafter be indicated: Dodd.

[7] Dodd, p. 44.

[8] Dodd, p. 51.

References to the future state of the Kingdom found in what Dodd considers to be the earliest tradition he would interpret in the light of traditional apocalyptic symbolism as "standing for realities which the human mind cannot directly apprehend, and as such capable of various interpretation and re-interpretation as the lessons of history or a deepening understanding of the ways of God demand."[9] This symbolism, he feels, can be controlled by the central idea of the "realized" Kingdom of God. For the traditional apocalyptic symbols for judgment and bliss, and, as the bearer and representative of the Kingdom, the traditional and symbolic figure of the Son of Man are "eschatological" in character, ultimates not proper to this empirical realm of time and space but to the absolute order. But as Christ declared that this ultimate, the Kingdom of God, has come into history, and as He takes upon Himself the "eschatological" role of the "Son of Man," so the absolute, the "wholly other" has entered into time and space.

> And as the Kingdom of God has come and the Son of Man has come, so also judgment and blessedness have come into human experience. The ancient images of the heavenly feast, of Doomsday, of the Son of Man at the right hand of power, are not only symbols of supra-sensible, supra-historical realities; they have also their corresponding actuality within history. Thus both the facts of the life of Jesus, and the events which He foretells within the historical order, are "eschatological" events, for they fall within the coming of the Kingdom of God. The historical order however cannot contain the whole meaning of the absolute. The imagery therefore retains its significance as symbolizing the eternal realities, which though they enter into history are never exhausted in it. The Son of Man has come, but also He will come; the son of men is judged, but also it will be judged.[10]

I take it that these "apocalyptic" sayings are not to be taken chronologically—as referring to a future "then" in relation to a present "now." Rather the interpretation is to be what I shall call, for want of a more appropriate word, "mystical"—that is to say, events of an absolute order having no limits of time or space as mirrored in the empirical order of time and space; or again,

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[9] Dodd, p. 106.

[10] Dodd, pp. 107-108.

"other worldliness" in terms of "this worldliness." This meaning is confirmed by the following quotation:

> These future tenses are only an accommodation of language. There is no coming of the Son of Man "after" his coming in Galilee and Jerusalem, whether soon or late, for there is no before or after in the eternal order. The Kingdom of God in its full reality is not something which will happen after other things have happened. It is that to which men awake when this order of time and space no longer limits their vision, when they "sit at meat in the Kingdom of God" with all the blessed dead, and drink with Christ the "new wine" of eternal felicity. "The Day of the Son of Man" stands for the timeless fact. So far as history can contain it, it is embodied in the historic crisis which the coming of Jesus brought about. But the spirit of man, though dwelling in history, belongs to the eternal order. That which cannot be experienced in history is symbolized by the picture of a coming event, and its timeless quality is expressed as pure simultaneity in time—"as the lightning flashes."[11]

Thus does Dodd interpret the sayings of Christ which would seem to predict events in the remote future. Other predictions there are, but they have no long historical perspective and seem, says Dodd, to be concerned with the immediate developments of the crisis which was already in being when Christ spoke, and which He interpreted as the coming of the Kingdom of God. The eternal significance of history had revealed itself in this crisis. "Whether its subsequent span would be long or short, men would henceforth be living in a new age, in which the Kingdom of God, His grace and His judgment, stood revealed."[12]

The thesis of Professor Dodd, then, is this. Christ proclaimed the Kingdom of God as meaning, in some way or another, the manifestation of God's sovereign power effective in the world of human experience. This manifestation was present, or "realized," in Christ's ministry. Contrary to Jewish expectation there was to be no further 'coming' of the Kingdom. Consequently, those words of Christ which seem to refer to a future coming are to be understood as "apocalyptic symbolism." Hence, the whole eschatology of the Gospels is a "realized" eschatology. This thesis Dodd claims to find in the authentic non-parabolic sayings of Christ in the synoptic gospels, that is, only those contained in Mark and "Q" which he considers primary sources.[13] Since the whole teaching of Christ is consistent, Dodd hopes to find a confirmation of his thesis in Christ's parables of the Kingdom, provided always that these parables can be placed in their

[11] Dodd, p. 108.

[12] Dodd, p. 109.

[13] Dodd, p. 41.

original setting in the ministry of Christ. For Dodd claims that the explanations of the parables as now found in the gospels are allegorical interpretations added by the early Church which do away with the point of the parable Christ had intended to make. This claim leans heavily on the form-critical assumption of the nature of the *Sitz im Leben,* or setting in life, of the primitive Christian community. Accordingly, if this assumption can be shown to be invalid then Dodd's claim that the community reinterpreted the sayings or parables of Christ is left without foundation. It is my contention that the *Sitz im Leben* of the primitive Christian community is not that which the form critics suppose.

SITZ IM LEBEN

I have no quarrel with Dr. Dodd when he says: "the original 'setting in life' of any authentic saying of Jesus was of course provided by the actual conditions of His ministry." But I hold that he proceeds from an unfounded assumption in stating that the "formed tradition of His teaching" as it reaches us in the gospels has its " 'setting in life' provided by the situation in the early Church."[14] This statement is all the more to be deprecated if he means to suggest that conditions did change radically and brought about essential differences in Christ's doctrine.

Dodd is but following the lead of many form critics in taking the expression *Sitz im Leben* to mean not the actual conditions of Christ's ministry but rather those of the Christian community as it existed in the twenty or forty years after the death of Christ and while the written Gospels were in process of formation. Indeed, some of the form critics pretend to profess no interest whatsoever in the actual "setting in life" of Christ's ministry, either because they hold that this can not be known, or is not important. Rudolf Bultmann, admittedly extreme, is of this opinion.[15]

No one will deny that there has been a choice of incidents and sayings in the Gospels, for to record all that Christ said and did "not even the world itself, I think, could hold the books that would have to be written" (Jn. 21.25). But what was recorded was according to a certain norm and this is given to us by St. Luke in the prologue to his Gospel. He professes to narrate facts

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[14] Dodd, p. 111.

[15] Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word* (New York: Scribner's, 1934), pp. 13-14.

"even as they who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word have handed them down to us" (Lk. 1:2). Here is a guarantee of true history. But the form critics would hold that the choice of incidents is regulated by the need of the community group for "guidance, instruction, worship and controversy"[16] and further that even the forms in which the incidents are reported are attributable to the community creation. If, then, both incident (found, or according to some 'created' when necessary), and form are the products of community creative interest, what becomes of reliance on the Gospels as the historical picture of Christ?[17] Thus it is that though these Gospels, according to the form critics, would give us the "setting in life" of the early Christian community, they would be no means give us the "setting in life" of Christ's ministry. It seems to me that we are thus brought back to the old contention that the Gospels give us a picture of the "Christ of faith" while the "Jesus of history" still remains for us an unknown figure—if indeed He ever existed.

If we are to avoid absolute scepticism in this matter it will be helpful to find some control outside of the Gospels whereby we shall be able to test their validity as historical records. The supposition of form criticism, as we have seen, is that the formed tradition of our Gospels took place in the "setting in life" of the primitive Christian community and developed according to the needs of that community. But, we ask, was this community of such a nature as to be capable of creating the tradition? Can the critics show that a community, such as they postulate, ever existed in reality? Certainly the community to which St. Paul wrote at Corinth was not of such a nature. Neither were the communities of Galatia or Rome at the very time when, according to the critics, the formed tradition of our Gospels was being created.

Even a cursory reading of the great epistles of St. Paul will show that the primitive Christian community far from being 'creative,' as the critics maintain, was rather the recipient of a closely regulated teaching coming down from and through the Apostles. It suffices but to read the first four chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians to dispel the idea that the community is forming the tradition rather than being taught what it is to believe and do, and that with authority. "For Christ did not send me to baptize, but to preach the gospel, not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ be made void. For the doctrine of the cross is foolishness to those who perish, but to those who are saved, that is, to us it is the power of God" (1 Cor. 1:17-18). "And I, brethren, when I came to you, did not come with pretentious speech or wisdom, announcing unto you the witness to Christ. For I determined not to know anything among you, except Jesus Christ and him crucified" (1 Cor. 2:1-2). Under various figures St. Paul continues to tell the Corinthians very plainly that they were being taught the doctrine of Christ. To understand it they must become spiritual men, and since as yet they are carnal he treats them as little children who must be fed first with "milk" before they are ready to receive the "solid food" of Christ's full doctrine. Would a community which is said to be 'creating' the formed Christian tradition be addressed in such terms?

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[16] Floyd V. Filson, *Origins of the Goseppls* (New York, 1938, pp. 95-97.

[17] W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, 1940), has this to say: "Dibelius and Bultmann, together with their followers, endeavor first to reconstruct the life of the earliest Church, the methods of preaching and evangelizing which it employed, and the development of Christian doctrine, after which they determine the hypothetical *Sitz im Leben* of a given verse or passage, in order to judge its historical value—or more usually to reconstruct its evolution as a literary entity." p. 293.

Nor can it be said that the teaching here is peculiar to the church at Corinth for St. Paul says that his ways "are in Christ Jesus, even as I teach everywhere in every church" (1 Cor. 4:17). So it is that the question of following the Jewish law with regard to circumcision is settled authoritatively for the Corinthians by St. Paul and concluded with the words "and so I teach in all the churches" (1 Cor. 7:18). Likewise, the Corinthian women are not to appear in church with heads uncovered for "we have no such custom, neither have the churches of God" (1 Cor. 11:16).

If the claim of the form critics is correct, the primitive community was accustomed to reapply or 'create' sayings of Christ to give authority to teaching which could not have been His, but which was required for the later regulation of conduct or the settling of controversies. This claim is based on the supposition that the only authority for the early Christian community was found in the words and deeds of Christ. Not to mention the fact that St. Paul distinguishes at times between what he himself says and what "the Lord commands" (notably in 1 Cor. 7:10), while at the same time taking it as understood that both are to be accepted as binding on Christians, we find further that even where a question of doctrine or moral conduct arises which might be settled by Christ's words St. Paul does not always advance them as proof. Thus it is that when treating of the duty of Christians toward civil rulers there is no mention of Christ's: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's," even though these words would be particularly applicable to the matter in hand. In an article in refutation of the form critics' claim of the primitive community's constant appeal to the words and deeds of Christ, Dr. F. J. Badcock concludes: "So far is it from being true that Christ's example and words were constantly quoted as the authority by which conduct was to be regulated and controversies determined, that the whole of the rest of the New Testament outside the Gospels would seem to show that knowledge of them was not in demand."[18] The Gospels do not, nor did they ever pretend to give the full, complete and detailed doctrine of Christ; nor even as much of it as He communicated to the Apostles during His life with them. Another Paraclete was promised who would teach them "all things" and recall to their minds all that Christ had taught them. It is the consciousness that the Spirit of God is with him which gives St. Paul his certainty: "Now we have received . . . the spirit that is from God, that we may know the things that have been given us by God" (1 Cor. 2:12).

It might be objected, finally, that the doctrine preached by St. Paul was his own; that he was the bearer of a tradition other and different from that of Christ. Against this charge he defends himself in the epistle to the Galatians: "For I give you to understand, brethren, that the gospel which was preached by me is not of man. For I did not receive it from man, nor was I taught it: but I received it by a revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. 1:11-12). And that this Gospel agreed in all particulars with that of the Apostles is shown by the fact that it was approved entirely by them when St. Paul went to Jerusalem to compare his teaching with theirs. He relates the conclusion of the interview thus: "and when they recognized the grace that was given to me, James and Cephas and John, who were considered the pillars, gave to me and to Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go to the Gentiles, and they to the circumcised; provided only that we should be mindful of the poor, the very thing I was eager to do" (Gal. 2:9-10).

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[18] "Form Criticism," *Expository Times*, LIII (1941), p. 19.

Though I have not here developed the argument from St. Paul to an extent which its importance clearly deserves, yet I feel that what has been said is sufficient to indicate that in these epistles which all recognized critics admit to be early and authentic[19] we find no evidence to support the contention that the community was 'creative.' Neither do we find how, because of its very nature, it can be said to have invented sayings of Christ to apply or reapply them to conditions arising in an historical "setting in life" distinctly different from that of Christ's ministry. Since, then, such a community as the form critics postulate cannot be shown to have existed, the theory that the written Gospels represent the formed tradition about Christ created by such an imaginary community cannot stand. Consequently, the written Gospels remain what they have always claimed to be—objective historical records based on the testimony of eye-witnesses who wished and who could testify to what they had heard and seen of the "Word of Life." The Apostles are as uncompromising in their insistence on possessing and teaching Christ's true and full doctrine as the Gospels show us Christ Himself was in preaching the revelation of the Father. This is just what we would expect from teachers who had the assurance that the Holy Spirit would come upon them and that they would be witnesses unto Christ throughout the whole world. The form critics would in effect wish to apply to the whole Christian community the words Christ spoke only to the Apostles and their legitimate successors: "All power in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world" (Mt. 28:18-20).[20]

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[19] Dodd says: "Paul was not only the first Christian theologian, he is also our earliest authority for the facts and beliefs upon which the Christian religion rests." He continues, however: "We may regard the Pauline type of Christian thought as a development from the original tradition, parallel to the development which produced the Synoptic Gospels." p. 77. The early date of St. Paul and the passages from the Galatians quoted above should be sufficient answer to this last statement.

CONCLUSION

As indicated above, the thesis of "realized eschatology" is based on the supposition that the Gospels give us the "formed tradition" of Christ's teaching which had its "setting in life provided by the situation in the early Church." The particular application Dr. Dodd makes of this is to claim that Christ's parables on the Kingdom were re-interpreted by a "creative" community before being inserted into our written Gospels. I have endeavored in this article to show that the activity of this supposed "creative" community has no basis in historical fact. Consequently, we can conclude that the lessons Christ drew from his illustrations, as well as the manner and style of his preaching, appear in our Gospels as they were remembered and transcribed by those who heard Him. Professor Filson says: "all attempts to make the apostolic age responsible for the creation of any considerable amount of the gospel material shatter upon the evidence of the parables."[21] This remark I take to extend not only to the text of the parables, but also to their explanation and application, when such are recorded.

Finally, as I hope to show more at length in a future article giving a detailed treatment of the parbles of the Kingdom, the thesis of "realized eschatology" is an inadequate explanation of Christ's complete teaching on the Kingdom of God, and this for the following reasons: 1. it does not satisfactorily explain the judgment which is to usher in the final state of the Kingdom; 2. it does not explain the growth of the Kingdom nor the coexistence of good and bad; 3. it does not explain the eschatological parables with their message of waiting for the unexpected coming of the Messiah-Judge.

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[20] B. S. Easton: *The Gospel before the Gospels* (New York, 1928), says: "If we are to follow Wellhausen and Bultmann, we must hold that Jesus gave no systematic teaching but was able, none the less, to inspire his followers with the utmost moral and literary discrimination; so much so that when they came to draw up rules for themselves they adopted only the basic contents of the Synoptists. That is, Wellhausen and Bultmann canonize the entire Palestinian Church!" p. 118.

[21] Floyd V. Filson: *Origins of the Gospels*, p. 109.

PAN-SUMERIANISM AND THE VEIL MOTIF

Rev. George Wolz, S.T.L.

II

Now all the foregoing must not be taken to imply that the Mother Goddess—whether Ishtar or any other of her Sumerian or Babylonian representatives—was never pictured in the texts, statues or reliefs with a veil. Indeed the complete absence of this article of dress would have been surprising. In order to see this fact in its proper perspective, it will be necessary to review something of what the texts tell us about the dress of the gods and goddesses.

In all periods of Mesopotamian history, clothes were favorite votive offerings to be made to the deities. Already in some of the oldest temple records we hear of male and female weavers whose task it was to spin and make into garments the wool shorn from the temple herds,[75] and no doubt some of these products were destined for the statues of the divinities. It is possible that we have the act of offering pictured for us on a seal of the Uruk period found at Tell Billa, whereon one figure bears a string of beads and another a "strip of woven stuff" toward the doors of what appears to be a shrine.[76] Gudea, the pious *isag* of Lagash, speaks of "two bright-colored garments, two undergarments woven of four-fold thread . . . two garments bound with double thread" plus a quantity of wool presented to the "gracious mother" Bau,[77] while Ishme Dagan of Isin offered "clothes and wool" in the Ekur of Enlil.[78] When temples were founded or restored, devotion often led the kings of Babylonia and Assyria to endow the gods with costly raiment: thus Sargon donates "violet and purple (goods), brightly colored (woolen) garments, and garments of linen" to "Bel, Sarpanit, Nabu, Tashmet, and the gods who dwell in the metropolises of Sumer and Akkad";[79]

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[75] Cf. the many studies of Deimel and Schneider in this field of ancient Sumerian temple economy; see also Lau, *Old Babylonian Temple Records,* New York, 1906, pp. 32 sq., 38 sq. In the lists of temple functionaries occurs a *gishtug-Pl-karra* who seems to have been a superintendent of cult garments.

[76] Frankfort, *op. cit.,* p. 19 and Pl. III d.

[77] Statue L, III, 4-10 (Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad,* New Haven, 1929, pp. 202 sq.; Thureau-Dangin, *Die sum. u. akkad. Koenigsinschriften,* Leipzig, 1907, pp. 88 sq.)

[78] Langdon, *UPBS* X, 2, No. 9, *Rs.* II, 5-10, 14.

[79] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria,* Chicago, 1926, Vol. II, par. 70; see also par. 184. From the Sargonid period, cf. the letter of Ibashshi-ilu

Nabopolasser, in renewing and amplifying a decree of his predecessor Nabuapaliddin, lists in detail the cult garments to be given to Shamash on six days of the year;[80] Nabonidus not only declares how Neriglissar clothed Anunit of Sippar with the "garment of deity" (*tedek iluti*) when her temple was restored,[81] but himself orders that the same kind of dress be prepared for Ea, Nebo and Tashmet.[82] Special occasions also demanded that the statues of the gods wear special clothing—this principally at the Akitu or New Year's Festival.[83] We have an interesting document in an Assyrian coronation ritual, dating probably from some time after Tukulti Ninurta I, wherein the king is commanded to offer embroidered garments to Assur, N(inlil?), Adad and Shulmanu,[84] and a similar text demands gold belts and garments for other deities, among them Ea (?) and Nusku.[85]

Among the garments offered to goddesses veils are occasionally mentioned. Thus Manishtusu gives to Aia, bride of Shamash, what is probably a "new face (?) covering" (*panu* (*?*) *subatu*) along with turbans, white and dark clothing, and rings of gold and silver, on the occasion of her husband's festival.[86] A Sumerian text contains what is apparently an inventory of veils (*tug sag-ush-bar*) for various deities and for the temple of Ninegal.[87] So it is not surprising that Ishtar at times is pictured in the religious texts as veiled;[88] indeed, she and the goddess Nana are called "the veiled among the goddesses."[89]

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to the king on the "dressing of Bel" on the 3d of Elul (Harper No. 496= Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria*, New Haven, 1935, No. 226).

[80] Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Koenigsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 70 sqq., No. 5.

[81] Langdon, *op. cit.*, 276 sq., Col. IV, 26 sq.

[82] Langdon, *op. cit.*, 280 sq., Col. VIII, 6 sqq. See also Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 670; Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Heidelberg, 1925, Vol. II, p. 85.

[83] The evidence for Sippar, Uruk, and Babylon is summarized by Pallis, *The Babylonian Akitu Festival*, Copenhagen, 1926, pp. 152 sq., cf. also p. 137.

[84] Mueller, *Das Assyrische Ritual;* Teil I, Texte zum assyrischen Koenigsritual, Leipzig, 1937, pp. 8 sqq., Col. I, 35; II, 6; III, 35.

[85] Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 48 sq., lines 4 sqq.

[86] Cruciform Monument, XI, 24 (Barton, *op. cit.* 134 sq.)

[87] Jean, *La religion sumérienne*, Paris, 1931, p. 111.

[88] Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XXII, pp. 169 sq. Radau (Hilprecht Anniversary Volume, 397 sq) also finds a veil mentioned in *CT* XV, Pl. 8, line 2; but on this see Witzel, *Tammuz Liturgien*, p. 365, line 29.

[89] Tallqvist, *Akkad. Goetterepitheta*, p. 152 s.v. כתם, 334, 386.

But all this does not suffice to establish the veil motif. If the veil is a symbol or perquisite of Ishtar in her role as "Urmutter" of a pretended redeemer myth, one can rightly ask to see Sumerian or Babylonian evidence for such an association. In other words, the veil motif must be shown in a mythic context; there should be given a Sumerian or Babylonian text in which a *veiled* Ishtar plays a part that stamps her as the mother of the cosmic redeemer. That Ishtar sometimes wears a veil, and that at other times she appears, v.g., as the rescuer of Tammuz from the Underworld is not enough to prove that the *Sumerians* ever linked the two in such a fashion that the veil became an integral part in a redeemer myth. Until such evidence is presented, the motif as described by Jeremias stands as a gratuitous assertion, a modern combination which, if justified in this one instance, would permit us to join any number of even contrary and contradictory statements and beliefs of the Sumerians and Babylonians (helped out here and there in the manner beloved of the Pan-Sumerians by Egyptian, Canaanite, Hittite, Persian, Far Eastern, Classical and Late Gnostic material) into a more or less coherent system and then palm off that system as the one and only ancient Oriental world-view. If it is uncertain whether the sages of old Mesopotamia ever combined all their ideas on the nature and structure of the visible universe into one ordered picture,[90] it is still more in doubt whether they ever did the same for the scattered details of their mythology.[91]

Now, of the evidences cited by Jeremias, three might at first sight seem to connect a veiled Ishtar with the Life-Death mystery —the Descent Myth, the Siduri episode in the Gilgamesh Epic, and (because of the gigantomachy carved on its base) the Sphinx of Tell Halaf. We have seen above, however, that the first two have nothing to do with a veiling (resp. unveiling), while the Sphinx emerges as the weakest argument of them all. And so the first—and most important—point in Jeremias' thesis appears to be without foundation.

But what of the second point—is the veil a symbol of Ishtar, taking her simply as a goddess and apart from any particular myth? This in no wise follows from the fact that she receives it as a votive offering in her temples and wears it in the texts.

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[90] Meissner, *BuA*, II, 107.

[91] Of course, attempts were made at systematization; cf. Deimel, *Panth. Babylon.* pp. 3 sqq.; but how far-reaching these were we do not know.

The garments which the divinities of ancient Sumeria received from their worshippers cannot be isolated from the other gifts which piety dictated, and these were—chiefly—food, drink and cosmetics. If, for example, Manishtusu's gift of a veil to the "Ishtar" Aia should prove that this was her symbol, why should not the dates, lard, milk, honey, wine, oil, etc. given on the same occasion prove that these things too were her symbols? The reason why garments were given to the gods and why they wear them does not lie in any mystical symbolism,[92] it lies only in the anthropomorphic character of the Mesopotamian divinities. They were "men writ large," conceived in the image and likeness of their worshippers, with the same needs and the same emotions as their votaries.[93] Their requirements were the same as those which the ancient Mesopotamian looked upon as the necessities of civilized living. Now, the latter can be easily summed up: food and drink (especially fermented), cosmetic oil and clothing. Indeed, it is surprising how these appear over and over again in the texts as the concrete expression of what civilization meant in this culture area. The Old Babylonian recension of Gilgamesh[94] describes the process whereby Enkidu became civilized; he eats bread, drinks beer, anoints himself with oil, and puts on a garment—so he becomes "like a man . . . like a bridegroom." A Sumerian poem on the beginnings of civilization describes the state *ante:*

> Bread and intoxicating drink they knew not (yet),
> Garments of cloth they knew not (yet).[95]

Note too how frequently these objects appear in the tribute which the kings exacted from the vanquished.[96] The Code of Hammurabi provides that brothers who administer their sister's field and garden must give her, according to the value of the estate, "grain, oil and garments, and (so) content her heart."[97] And finally, when Shalmaneser III honored the gods of Babylon, the inhabitants of that city received from him food, drink and clothing,[98] certainly the same kind, if not the same quality, of gift as their divine overlords. In the natural order, *qualis populus talis deus;* this, and no elaborate mythical system, explains why the gods received what they did, and therefore why Ishtar received veils.[99]

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[92] Naturally the divine symbols were also included at times in the donations—cf. the gift of a tiara to Sin by Nabonid (Langdon, *NBKI* 262 sqq.) —but here we know already that the object is a divine symbol from other sources, not from the mere fact of donation or possession.

[93] See Furlani, *La religione babilonese e assira,* Bologna, 1928, Vol. I, pp. 98 sqq.; Meissner, *BuA*, II, 126 sqq.

[94] Langdon, *Epic of Gilgamesh* (*UPBS* X, 3) Tab. II, Col. III (cf. *AOTB* 187 sq.; and compare with p. 165, D, 10 sqq.). It is interesting to note that in the Adapa myth, Anu orders food and drink, oil and a garment to be brought to Adapa.

[95] Barton, *Miscell. Bab. Inscr.* Pt. I, Pl. XVIII, Vs. 20 sq. The translation follows Witzel, *Perlen sumerischer Poesie* (Keil. Stud. 5) 109.

[96] V.g. Sargon; see Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, par. 74.

Furthermore, admitting other details in the Pan-Sumerian hypothesis, there is a positive reason why the veil could not be the symbol of Ishtar. This is to be found in the rather detailed regulations of the Old Assyrian law governing the wearing of the veil. The text is unfortunately somewhat mutilated, but it is clear enough that married women and women of the harem (in the company of their mistress, the chief wife) must veil themselves when appearing in public, while the common prostitute and the slave are forbidden to do so under pain of the severest penalties. Between these two classes stands the hierodule, or ritual prostitute—she must wear the veil if she is married, but dare not do so if she is not.[100] Now this law is something exceedingly strange, not to say impossible, if Pan-Sumerianism be correct. Jeremias declares that, applying the celestial = terrestrial formula, the Sumerians saw in the hierodule the chief earthly representative of the Mother Goddess,[101] who was herself known as the *nugig anna,* the *kadishtu ilani*

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[97] Par. 178 sq. (*AOTB* 399).

[98] Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, par. 624.

[99] The manner in which the dress of the gods follows human styles is also significant: cf. Meissner, *BuA*, II, 42 sqq.; Reimpell, W., *Geschichte der babylonischen und assyrischen Kleidung*, Berlin, 1921, pp. 47 sqq., 53 sqq., 66 sq., 71, 79 sq.; Lutz, *Textiles and Costumes among the People of the Ancient Near East*, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 142-159 passim.

[100] Par. 40 (*AOTB* 417 sq.). Jeremias speaks of this law in *Schleier* 14 and 34 n. 1, but ambiguously, and without drawing the embarrassing conclusion to which his theory must necessarily lead him. On p. 35, however, without offering the shadow of a proof, he states that already in ancient Assyria the veiling of women had *become* a *Keuschheitssitte.* We do not know that it has *become* anything of the kind; we must let the texts speak for themselves, and for all the evidence shows, it always *was* that or something similar. And would the Assyrian legislators have allowed the rise of such a custom that contradicted the myth, if there had been such a myth?

[101] Cf. *HAOG* 102, 334; *ATAO* 789 s.v. Hure.

(harlot of heaven, harlot of the gods). And since the Orient knew no separation between the sacred and the profane, even the common prostitute was endowed with the same mystery.[102] Yet the Assyrian law, permeated like all Oriental legislation with the sacred theory of Sumeria,[103] forbids the unmarried hierodule and the prostitute, both living symbols of the Mother Goddess, the use of just that article of dress which is declared to be the symbol and perquisite of their prototype. If the veil had really been such a perquisite, this fact would not have been unknown to the lawmakers of Assyria, they would have also known that in forbidding this garment to the two classes in question, they would in effect be forbidding the Mother Goddess the use of her symbol. Is it possible that the legislators would have made themselves guilty of such a transgression against the sacred theory? The conclusion is obvious—whatever reason inspired the law, whether it was regard for the personal dignity and social status of the woman, or the desire to mark the wife as the property of her husband and keep her charms from others, the dictates of a pretended mythical system cannot in any event be reconciled with it.[104] And as a result of this, we believe, another point in the Pan-Sumerian position must be rejected.

For his last claim—the cosmic character of the veil—Jeremias offers no early evidence, but it seems that a cosmic significance of some sort was attached, if not precisely to the veil, at least in general to the garb of the gods. Thus in a processional hymn to Ishtar, the goddess describes herself as crowned with the heavens, shod with the earth, and wearing "shining" garments.[105] The first two phrases of this description would seem to identify parts of the cosmos with Ishtar's shoes and tiara, but there seems to be nothing mythic here; the exuberant imagination of the ancient Sumerian poet who wished to picture the greatness of his goddess (standing on earth, she reaches into the heavens—

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[102] *HAOG* 477.

[103] *HAOG* 47 sqq.

[104] Cf. Driver and Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, 130; de Vaux, *RB* 44 (1935) 411. In the foregoing, we speak of "Assyrian legislators" in a purely conventional sense, without implying anything as to the origin of the laws or the possible presence of non-Assyrian strata in the Code.

[105] So Witzel, *Perlen*, (K. St. 5) 87=Zimmern, *SK* No. 199, *Rs*. III, 17-20. The translation is not certain, however, since *an* and *ki* need not necessarily mean "heaven" and "earth" respectively; they may signify simply "above" and "below," and so Zimmern understands them.

an expression often met with in the texts) can easily enough explain the metaphor. The "shining garments" of Ishtar, however, are frequently mentioned, and this concept might well be astral in association, if not in origin. In the famous hymn on Ishtar's elevation to the Antuship—a poem strongly astral in tendency, (cf. line 29-36)—she puts on the "garment (*tug*) in lordship, the brilliance of shining Sin," she receives the sublime jewels and ornaments which "light up like the day" and the crown which shines "like the tip of the moon."[106] In another hymn, her fellow goddess Sarpanit, called the "herald of the stars," is pictured dressed in light.[107] Indeed, a whole series of gods and goddesses are "garbed in radiance," "dressed in awe-inspiring splendor."[108] It would seem that such expressions belonged first and foremost to Shamash, Sin and Ishtar, since they form the original astral triad, and that the bright garments are the concrete expression of the light these deities shed. Whether the other divinities were thought to be clothed in similar style because of some quality of theirs related to light (v.g., Adad, god of storms and lightning; Girru, god of fire; Nergal, god of the burning sun of midday and of midsummer), or because of the progressive astralization of the pantheon is a question that need not concern us here. The point is that the bright garments of Shamash, Sin and Ishtar may be cosmic in the sense that they represent the light of the sun, the moon, and the planet Venus,[109] but this does not yet make them symbols of the cosmos itself. Against this might be opposed the well-known pictures of Marduk and Adad on the seals found by Koldewey in Babylon[110] whereon each god is shown in a vestment spangled with stars. Yet, however attractive it might be to speak of a *Weltenmantel* here, we do not know whether the Babylonians looked upon it that way. It may be that this represents the beginning of an idea which later grew into the cosmic *stola olympica* that Apuleius speaks of in connection with the Isis mystery, but it seems to be hazardous to use such late Hellenistic data to interpret the religious ideas of much earlier Babylonia, to say nothing of primitive Sumeria. We have no proof that these garments were thought by the Babylonians to be symbols of the star-studded sky; for this, Jeremias should have proferred a text speaking of gods clothed with the heavens.[111] The most that can be said about them is that they picture the light shed by the gods, or that they mark their wearers as astral deities.

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[106] *RA* XI, p. 149 (*AOTB* 252).

[107] Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, Leipzig, 1895, Vol. 1, No. 1, 14.

[108] Meissner, *BuA*, II, 120; Tallqvist, *Akkad. Goetterepitheta*, passim, esp. p. 99 s.v. חלף, 117 s.v. לבש.

[109] The pictures on the seal cylinders showing the Sun-god with rays projecting from his shoulders and Ishtar surrounded by beams of light that end in stars may be illustrations of this idea. For the former, cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.* 95 sqq.; for the latter cf. *ibid.* Pl. XXXIII b (Weber No. 257, Ward No. 752; see also Ward's Nos. 753, 754, 756 sqq.)

[110] *AOTB* Fig. 314 and 326; see also Fig. 330.

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And so, to conclude the first portion of this study, we believe that a critical examination of the Sumero-Babylonian material shows that the three points which make up the Pan-Sumerian veil symbolism cannot be maintained at all. The veil is neither the symbol of the Mother Goddess as such, nor does it occur as a motif in any Sumerian redeemer or Life-Death mystery; and while the garments of the gods may assume an astral (therefore cosmic) character, there is no early evidence that would prove them to be genuine *Weltenmaentel.* Hence, so far as we know, Sumeria had no veil symbolism to pass on to the writers of the Old Testament, and consequently one would look in vain through the sacred pages for anything of the kind. Yet, since Jeremias devotes 14 pages of *Schleier* in addition to numerous references in *ATAO* to this very task, we shall complete our study with a consideration of at least the most important biblical references.

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Before we begin, let us understand one fact clearly. In the search for a veil, we must restrict ourselves to the text of the Sacred Scriptures. Medieval legends and modern operas cannot be called upon to establish the presence of a veil in an Old or New Testament episode, if the text of the latter says nothing about such a garment. Since the Book of Jonas, for example, is silent on a veiling and unveiling of the prophet, all speculation on this point is useless, and the illustrations of the *Biblia Pauperum* tell us nothing about the symbolism in which this book is supposed to be written.[112] Still less will we believe that the dance of the daughter of Herodias (Mt. 14:6; Mk. 6:22) was a veil dance simply because present day romancers have pictured it so.[113] This is really the height of absurdity: Oscar Wilde and Richard Strauss as glossators of the Gospels!

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[111] It is true that Langdon translates the *an-gu* (*nalbash shame*) of Chiera, *SRT* Pl. I sqq., III, 12, 14, 16 sq., IV, 23 as "garment of the sky" and makes it an epithet of Ishtar (cf. Tallqvist, *op. cit.* 117), but the translation is not absolutely certain, cf. Witzel, *Perlen, N.F.* (K. St. 6) 7 sqq.: "the mistress of heaven—on the *tent of heaven* is Innini great."

We shall also pass over the veil motif as applied to Joseph, Moses, and Juda;[114] if the god Tammuz has a veil (or its masculine equivalent) only because of his association with Ishtar in the Life-Death mystery, then rightly we ask first for proof of the presence of Ishtar figures in the Old Testament: should none be found, then their male counterparts will also be absent, and not much can be made of the coat of Joseph, the face-covering of Moses, and the Messianic garments in the Juda prophecy of Gen. 49:11.

Among the women of the Old Testament for whom Ishtar traits are claimed, two are treated in some detail in *Schleier*—these are Sarah (with her alleged doublet Rebecca) and Ruth.[115] It is said that the account of the former's adventures in Gerar (or Egypt)—to be pieced together from Gen. 12:9 sqq.; 20:1 sqq.; 26:1 sqq.[116]—has the Myth of Ishtar's Descent into the Underworld as its background and prototype, and of course the veil plays a significant role in the narrative. Following Gen. 20:1 sqq. principally, the motifs run as follows:

a)	Ishtar and Tammuz are at once brother and sister, husband and wife.	Abraham and Sarah stand in the same relationship to one another.
b)	Ishtar descends into the Underworld.	Abraham and Sarah go down to Gerar, in the Southland, which stands for the Underworld in the cosmic-mythical symbolism.
c)	Because of Ishtar's absence, all sexual life ceases on earth while the goddess remains in the Underworld.	Because of, and during, Sarah's stay in Abimelech's harem, the same misfortune befalls both the king and the women of the royal household.

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[112] *Schleier* 32; *ATAO* 723 sqq.

[113] *Schleier* 36; "Die modernen dichterischen Bearbeiter haben richtig gesehen dass es sich um einen Entschleierungstanz handelt." In other places the poet Schiller is called on for help, cf. 15 sq., 34.

[114] *Schleier* 29 sqq.

[115] *Schleier* 28 sq.; 31 sq.

[116] *ATAO* 315 sqq.; and esp. 348 sqq.

d) Divine intervention sets Ishtar free.	Yahweh frightens Abimelech into setting Sarah free.
e) On her release, Ishtar receives back her ornaments and clothing, among them the veil.	The gifts given by Abimelech when he releases Sarah include "the covering of the eyes," i.e., the veil.
f) On Ishtar's return, the *Segenszeit* dawns.	The power of conception returns to the royal household; Abraham is enriched and the land lies open before him.

We have here before us a device that is the delight of certain students of the comparative history of religion; a device well named by Chesterton "The Illusion of the Parallel Columns." With its help it is possible to emphasize surface resemblances between two unrelated accounts, and at the same time to minimize or even leave out of account essential differences, so that the two appear closely related after all. With this method it is possible to prove anything, and find "mythical contours" in any desired literary account.[117] We need spend no time in pointing out the great differences between Ishtar in the Myth and Sarah in Genesis, even a cursory reading of the two stories will be enough to make them plain.[118] Yet even the resemblances which Jeremias points out prove to be very slight indeed.

ad a) Sarah is the wife and half-sister of Abraham; Ishtar is not only the wife and sister, but also the mother of Tammuz—and this son-mother relationship is essential to the role Tammuz and Ishtar play in the fertility cycle. Now if the relationship of Sarah and Abraham is fact and not fiction, its mention in the Old Testament is sufficiently motivated by the writer's desire of recording the fact as history. No Sumerian myth, but the necessity of this detail for the understanding of the episode—to say nothing of the Oriental liking for genealogies—led to the inclusion of the item in the Abraham-Sarah story. But is the relationship a fact? There is no reason for denying it. It can hardly be a fiction invented in the interest of the mythic style. Marriages in this degree of kindred are forbidden in Lev. 18:11[119] and Deut. 27:22. Even admitting the hypothesis that Sumerian symbolism played so large a part in the writing of the Old Testament, as Pan-Sumerianism supposes, we should allow to the higher morality of the Hebrews a voice in at least the *choice* of motifs. If the hagiographers had been entirely indiscriminate in their selection, admitting motifs that were contrary to the divine positive law, it is hard to see wherein lies the "recreation" and "reformation" of the Sumerian doctrine which Jeremias claims was the glory of Israel. Surely a doctrine which divorces morality from the forms of its expression cannot be an advance to something higher.[120] We have, then, no reason for doubting the historicity of this detail, and unless the rest of the story prove to have a mythical background, there is no reason to think that the hagiographer added it because he saw in it a point of contact between Ishtar and Tammuz on the one hand, and Sarah and Abraham on the other.

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[117] See the clever parodies by Kugler and Witzel in *Im Bannkreis Babels*, Muenster, 1910 and *Der Drachenkaempfer Ninib*, Fulda, 1920, 259 sqq. respectively.

[118] Cf. v.g. Eerdmans, *Alttestamentliche Studien;* II, Die Vorgeschichte Israels, Giessen, 1908, pp. 20 sq., 22. This work contains a fine criticism of Winckler's Pan-Babylonianism, 14 sqq.

ad b) We have seen above (note 28) how the mention of the Southland means anything and everything, that is to say, nothing at all. Where the Pan-Sumerians want to find an Underworld, they will find it, no matter what point of the compass the biblical text may speak of.[121] The absurdity of this procedure is plain when we compare Gen. 20:1 sqq. with 12:9 sqq. In this latter account, Egypt is supposed to stand for the Underworld.[122] But the hagiographer declares (Gen. 13:1) that after leaving Egypt, Abraham and his retinue went into the *Southland.* Of course, in order to avoid an escape from the Underworld which leads back into the Underworld, the theory would claim that a *Gegensinn* is at work here, but this is only an arbitrary statement. How do we know that such a *Gegensinn* actually exists, except by begging the question, by supposing as proved the very thing to be proved, viz., that an Underworld myth has been used in giving the biblical account its present form?

ad c) This point brings up the question as to which of the two, Gerar or the palace of Abimelech, is supposed to be the

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[119] On the early age of this prescription, cf. Heinisch, *Das Buch Leviticus,* Bonn, 1936, p. 87.

[120] This still holds true, even though Jeremias insists that the myth and its symbolism are amoral; see *ATAO* 333 note 2; 350.

[121] Eerdmans, *op. cit.* 22 rightly says: "Nach dieser Methode geht... jeder Reisebericht auf die Hoellenfahrt der Ishtar zurueck, sobald es sich auf eine Dame bezieht."

[122] *ATAO* 348.

counterpart of the Underworld. Gerar lies in the Southland, yet if we let the Southland motif speak in its favor, how can we reconcile this with the Babylonian myth? Whether we find it in the hymns or in the well-known Epic, the Descent story has for an essential motif the *separation* of the partners: Tammuz descends, Ishtar bewails her loss, then goes down herself to accomplish (or fail to accomplish) her lover's liberation. Why then do Abraham-Tammuz and Sarah-Ishtar go down to Gerar-Underworld *together,* in despite of what (to judge from the Mesopotamian sources, our only authentic guide here) constitutes an essential element of the Myth?

The separation demanded by the Myth does take place when Sarah is carried off to Abimelech's harem, but note how the Southland is thereby again magically transformed. On the analogy of the Babylonian myth, all of Gerar with the exception of the palace must now, in spite of its location in the mythical geography, become a copy *in parvo* of the Upperworld, for it harbors the bereaved partner Tammuz-Abraham.

But at long last we have Ishtar-Sarah safely ensconced in the Underworld—or have we? In the Babylonian account, it is the *Upperworld* which suffers in consequence of Ishtar's disappearance, it is in the *Upperworld* that all reproduction comes to an end; in the biblical account, we have the strange spectacle of a supposed Ishtar bringing a like *Fluchzeit* into the palace-Underworld, while the representative of the other half of the cosmos remains serenely unaffected. Jeremias declares that verse 18 is a gloss that was added by a writer who knew the story of Ishtar's descent and the effect her departure had upon all sexual life, but surely a glossator who knew this much would have seen the absurdity of having Ishtar bring a *Fluchzeit* into the Underworld, and altered the text accordingly.

ad d) The means by which Sarah and Ishtar respectively are set free bear only a superficial likeness to one another. Yahweh, protector of morality and guardian of marriage, afflicts Abimelech and his household and threatens him with death if he does not let Sarah go free; the gods create an effeminate to satisfy the lust of Ereshkigal, and even then (apparently) can only hope that their emissary can cajole or (more probably) trick[123] the Queen of the Underworld into setting the captive goddess free.

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[123] Cf. Witzel in *Orientalia N.F.* I (1932) 78 sqq.

After this great difference is allowed for, whatever similarity remains rests upon the fact that neither goddess nor wife could have been liberated except by divine intervention. Or was the timid Abraham, trembling for his life, expected to storm the palace single-handed, and, like a hero in an old-fashioned melodrama, snatch Sarah from the clutches of the villain?

ad e) On this point both stories are in agreement, but not in the sense understood by Jeremias. They agree in that neither speaks of a veil. With respect to the "covering of the eyes," Jeremias derides the common interpretation, viz., that it represents an atonement for the injury done, a metaphorical "covering for the eyes," and merely seconds in *ATAO* and *Schleier*[124] what had been said by Winckler long before.[125] This defender of Pan-Babylonianism had argued as follows:

The injury that was to be atoned touched Abraham, not Sarah, since one does not insult a woman by taking her as Sarah was taken. According to the Oriental way of thinking, the wife is not custodian of her own honor; Abraham alone was offended by the action, it was his, not Sarah's eyes, that were to be (metaphorically) covered if satisfaction for an injury had been the intention of Abimelech. But there is no need to think of such satisfaction here; the "covering of the eyes" is part of the dowry, namely the bridal veil, since Abimelech sends Sarah back to her husband decked as a bride.

But on the contrary there is no doubt that the "covering of the eyes" can be understood in a metaphorical sense. The commentators[126] point out several places in the Old Testament where the idea of a figurative "covering" is present, and indeed even with a view to making reparation for an injury done. The exact wording of Gen. 20:16, it is true, does not occur elsewhere, yet the verb in Job 9:24 contains the same root as כְּסוּת, and in any event the idea which underlies the usual interpretation is not foreign to Hebrew literature; we do no violence to the genius of the language by understanding the metaphorical sense. Now, does the phrase in Genesis *actually* bear this meaning?

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[124] *ATAO* 350 n. 1; *Schleier* 29, n. 1.

[125] *Altorientalische Forschungen* III, Leipzig, 1902, 414 sq.

[126] V.g. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, London, 1913, (9th ed.), p. 209; Skinner, *Genesis* (in ICC), New York, 1917, p. 319. The passages in question are Gen. 32:21; Ex. 23:8; 1 Sam. 12:3; Job 9:24. With regard to the first of these, note that *ATAO* 757 *s.v.* כפר state that this verb means first "to cover" and then only "to wipe away." Whatever is to be said in detail, the general meaning is clear; Jacob intends the gifts as atonement and satisfaction for the injury once done Esau.

Taking the text as it stands, and making no change merely to suit a preconceived theory, it is hard to see how the "covering of the eyes" could be anything but a metaphor. This and the 1,000 shekels given by Abimelech are not two distinct objects that have nothing to do with each other except in so far as they are parts of a dowry; the silver pieces *are* the "covering of the eyes" or perhaps (cf. LXX, Vulg.) intended *as* a "covering of the eyes." However they may explain the passage in detail, the more important commentaries and lexicons which have appeared since Winckler stated his interpretation have failed to follow him, perhaps because the sense he proposes demands an unwarranted tampering with the text.[127]

As for the charge that the usual explanation is not Oriental, how are we to know what is Oriental and what is not, if not from the Oriental sources themselves? Even though Abimelech's action may show a higher regard for woman than was common in that time and place, we must not forget that we have here an exceptional instance, occurring in extraordinary circumstances. The vision of Yahweh, the affliction of impotence, the threat of death—all tending to show that Sarah was under special divine protection—could well have led Abimelech to act otherwise than he would have done under normal conditions. And so in the end another parallel to the Descent Myth disappears, for the reason that there was no basis for comparison to begin with.

ad f) The *Segenszeit* that follows Sarah's release is composed of the following elements: Yahweh takes away the affliction He had laid upon the king and his household and the ability of begetting and bearing children returns, the king gives rich gifts in cattle, money and servants to the patriarch and his wife, and throws open the land of Gerar to him. Of all these details, only one—the revival of sexual life—has any place at all in the Babylonian epic. Yet even this one point of similarity does not arise out of dependence but rather out of convergence from dissimilar causes. The impotence of Abimelech and the temporary sterility of the women of his household were punishments inflicted by Yahweh as guardian of the sanctity of marriage; the cessation of sexual activity on earth as described in the myth is due simply to the fertility goddess' absence from the earth.

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[127] Cf. the commentaries of Hummelauer (1908, p. 424), Hoberg (1908, p. 210 ff.), Gunkel (1910, p. 224), Hetzenauer (1910, p. 310 sq.), Driver (1913, p. 209), Procksch (1913, p. 296), Murillo (1914, p. 589), Skinner (1917, p. 319 ff.), Eissfeldt (Hexateuch-Synopse, 1922, p. 33*), Koenig (1925, p. 537), Heinisch (1930, p. 257); and the lexicons of Cassel (1920, p. 150), Gesenius-Buhl (1921, p. 356) and Koenig (1931, p. 183).

Thus we see that, even apart from the important details of the Descent Myth which find no echo in Genesis, the asserted parallels prove to be no parallels at all. There is no mythological significance attached to the veil of Sarah, because the account as a whole betrays no mythological background and because a veil for Sarah is not mentioned at all.

The story of Ruth is also supposed to have been written largely in the style of the Descent Myth, or more precisely, in the colors of the goddess' ascent out of the Underworld. The following details are called upon to prove the mythic relationship:[128]

a) The Book of Ruth contains several motif names: Noemi (= the pleasant or lovely one, a word related to the Tammuz cycle, see *ATAO* 760 *s.v.* נעם); Mahlon and Kilyon (Drought and Tuberculosis, names indicative of the *Fluchzeit*); Booz (same name as that of one of the Temple pillars, both of which have cosmic significance); and finally, the events narrated lead up to the finding of מָנוֹחַ by the chief actors—now this contains the motif word נוח.

b) The events take place at the time of the barley harvest, i.e., the summer solstice, which is the critical point of time in the Tammuz cycle when the death of the god is lamented.

c) Ishtar traits are to be found in both Ruth and Noemi. The latter is Ishtar in her Underworld aspect, representative of the *Fluchzeit*. As such she is the man-slaying Ishtar, cf., the death of her husband and her two sons. She complains about her barrenness and asks to be called Mara, but now that she comes with Ruth, Noemi announces the coming of a *Segenszeit*.

d) Ruth is a gleaner; this has its prototype in the Ishtar with the ear of grain in Babylonian mythology.

e) Ruth-Ishtar veils herself like Thamar before Juda (Gen. 38:12 sqq.) and so attired approaches Booz at midnight, when he had "eaten and drunk and his heart was merry." She uncovers his *margeloth*, lies down, and the "redeemer" child is conceived. This is the same motif employed in the legend of Lot and his daughters (Gen. 19:30 sqq.). In the morning Booz realizes what he has done, i.e., that he had "spread his wings" over her.

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[128] See also *ATAO* p. 487 sqq.

f) When the child is born, Noemi becomes its אֹמֶנֶת.

These parallels, declares Jeremias, prove "without possibility of contradiction" (*einwandfrei*, so in *Schleier*, p. 33) the mythical style of the narrative. That such optimism is, however, unjustified will become clear once one examines the pretended parallels in detail.

ad a) A highly significant fact about the alleged motif names is the absence of Ruth from the list. Surely she is the central figure in the narrative, and if anyone should bear a name that is indicative of a mythical background, it is she before any one of the others. Now if Ruth's name is historical, why suppose that the names of the rest, or at least of Noemi and Booz, were invented in the interests of a myth? And if it is not historical, why was a name so colorless from a mythic point of view chosen for this supposed Ishtar figure? Furthermore, a review of the scriptural passages which speak of מָנוֹחַ will show that the word may mean nothing more mystical than a physical resting place (cf. Gen. 8:9; Isa. 34:14); while in the Book of Ruth it denotes merely the peace and security that comes to the wife in the home of her husband.[129] If this should be proof of a redeemer myth background, then one must be prepared to admit that every happy marriage was seen by the Israelite as a type of a cosmic *Segenszeit*. As for Noemi and Booz, the latter is only one of a common type of Semitic personal names that denote mental and spiritual qualities,[130] while it cannot be proved that Noemi has anything to do with נעמן (Adonis) at all.[131] In spite of the Hebrew predilection for *Volksetymologie*, there is no evidence that the ancient readers of the Old Testament would think of the Temple pillar in the one case, of the Syrian god in the other.[132]

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[129] Cf. Ruth 1:9 (to be read מָנוֹחַ, according to Jeremias)and 3:1. Also Jouon, *Ruth*, Rome, 1924, p. 37.

[130] Noth, *Die israelitische Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart, 1928, 228 sq.

[131] Noth, *op. cit.*, 166.

[132] In the case of Booz, what mystical meaning could the reader draw from the cosmic Temple pillar association? The pillar named Booz is

Only in Mahlon and Kilyon can one see any connection between the name and the character or fate of the individual who bears it, but even admitting the doubtful meanings Jeremias attributes to them,[133] by themselves they are insufficient to prove a mythical style for the entire narrative.

ad b) The time of the Palestinian barley harvest is in no way connected with the summer solstice, period of the Tammuz wailings, since in this land the harvest begins in April and barley is the first of the grains to be cut down. The events of chap. 3, it is true, happen after the wheat harvest (cf. 2:23) and that brings us closer to the time mentioned by Jeremias, but we shall see below what part a mythical style played in this section of the narrative.

Note, also, that the wailings for Tammuz are part of a *Fluchzeit* and it is at this time that the goddess prepares herself for the *Descent* into the Underworld; yet we are asked to believe that this finds its parallel in the Book of Ruth when Ishtar-Noemi-Ruth *ascends* from the Underworld and announces the coming of a *Segenszeit!* A moment's reflection will show that the arrival in Bethlehem at just the time of the harvest is well motivated in the story; the report that Yahweh had visited his people and given them bread induced Noemi to return, and naturally she timed her coming to coincide with the harvest. Obviously, no myth need be invoked to explain this detail.

ad c) When Ishtar comes out of the Underworld, the warder gives back the clothing and ornaments that he had taken away from the goddess during her descent; Noemi, having come out of Moab and returned to Bethlehem, declares "I went out full, and Yahweh hath brought me back empty" (1:21). Ishtar's return to the earth is itself the cause of a *Segenszeit*, the restoration of fertility to field and herd; Noemi comes back because Yahweh has supplied a bountiful harvest, she does not announce, much less cause, the *Segenszeit* and her speech to her neighbors ends on no very hopeful note. These contrasts should make plain how accurately the narrative pictures Noemi in the traits of the

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explicitly called "the left pillar" 1 Kgs. 7:21; 2 Par. 3:17), but the left is the Underworld side (*ATAO* p. 794 *s.v.* Links; p. 801 *s.v.* Rechts), therefore, in going to Booz Ruth descends into the Underworld, and in marrying him, she took up her permanent abode there. But what has now happened to our *Segenszeit?* Or must we call upon the unproved counter-sense again?

[133] On the possible meanings of the names cf. Jouon, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

goddess returning from the Underworld. But Jeremias also declares that she is delineated as the man-slaying Ishtar. Now the Mesopotamian texts speak of a man-slaying Ishtar under two aspects, as goddess of war and as goddess of love. As the former, she is "mistress of war and battle," she "strikes down warriors and makes their blood water the earth," and "casts in heaps upon the field the bodies of fighting-men."[134] As man-slaying goddess of love, she is best known from the Sixth Tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic,[135] in which place the hero upbraids her for the ruin and death she has brought upon her human and animal paramours. But what has this to do with Noemi? Her husband and her two sons die, it is true, yet if this is sufficient proof of the mythic style, then every widow and bereaved mother in Israel is a man-slaying Ishtar. Essential traits in the Babylonian concept of a slaying goddess seem to be that the goddess herself does the slaying, and that her victims are either her lovers or her enemies (resp. the enemies of the kings who stand under her protection). Neither of these traits is found reproduced in Noemi.

ad d) On the authority of a star list which in its present form dates from the time of Assurbanipal,[136] Jeremias points out that the Babylonians knew the constellation Virgo as *AB-SHIN (ESH—SHIN)=subultu*=the ear of grain. In addition, a Babylonian relief dating from the period of the Seleucidae and picturing constellations lying in the region of Virgo shows the latter as a goddess holding a stalk of grain in her hands.[137] The aforementioned star list identifies this goddess with Shala, wife of the storm god Adad. Now if it is permissible to look upon her as an Ishtar figure[138] and at the same time licit to derive from these late sources the early belief of the Babylonians, the latter certainly knew an Ishtar with the ear of grain. But what ancient reader would have thought of this goddess when reading about Ruth the gleaner? The Babylonian saw in his divinity the principle of fertility, the "mistress of abundance," a sort of goddess with the cornucopia;[139] what has this picture in common with the poverty-stricken Ruth, dependent upon the generosity of the reapers for the little food which would keep her and Noemi alive? Had there been, let us say, a marvellous increase of grain brought about by Ruth's coming, only then could we begin to draw comparisons.

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[134] Code of Hammurabi, Col. XXVIII, 8 sqq. (*AOTB* p. 409). See also the references in Deimel, Panth. Babyl. No. 1617; Tallqvist, *Epitheta*, p. 337 sq.

[135] Lines 33-79 (*AOTB*, 161 sq.)

[136] *CT* XXXIII, I sqq., Col. II, 10; cf. Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*, Leipzig, 1915, pp. 35 sqq. and Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel. Ergaenzungsheft*, pp. 50 sqq.

[137] *HAOG* 220. The reference given there to p. 136 should no doubt read p. 171.

[138] Shala is here certainly a goddess of fertility; cf. the time at which the constellation appears (Kugler, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 35 sqq., Vol. II, 88 sq., and Schaumberger in *Ergaenz.*, 347).

ad e) In two places only does the Book of Ruth mention the heroine's garments, and in neither is a veil plainly indicated. In chap. 3:3 the garrulous Noemi, excited over her plan to get Ruth married, gives the girl unnecessary advice about her toilette. This includes putting on the *simlah,*[140] i.e., the wide upper garment which the Oriental, male and female, wears during the day and uses as a covering by night.[141] Surely, this is not the mysterious veil; had the author intended to set up a sign post for the guidance of the initiate reader, he would have chosen something more exotic than the every-day *simlah.*

From chap. 3:15 it appears that Ruth wore a מִטְפַּחַת. The precise nature of this garment cannot be determined with certainty. to judge from the root טפח and from the fact that Ruth's held some quantity of grain, it must have been rather large. Whether it was the same as the *simlah,*[142] or a kind of shawl,[143] or even a head-covering of some sort, it does not follow that Ruth used it to veil herself in the conventional sense. It seems that in the Palestine of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages women went unveiled; at least, veiling was far from the usual practice.[144] That Ruth veiled her face cannot be argued from Noemi's command "not to make herself known" to Booz until he have finished eating and drinking (3:3)—there were other means of remaining unknown or unnoticed (staying in the background, for instance) and we do not know which of these was used by Ruth since the text is silent on the point. Certainly, considering the customs of the times, a veiled woman would have attracted more attention than an unveiled one. And so, after all, a veiled Ruth is still an unknown quantity.

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[139] Kugler, *loc. cit.*

[140] Note that the TM has the plural; if this is correct (cf. LXX), the word may be understood of clothes in a general sense.

[141] Bertholet, *History of Hebrew Civilization,* London, 1926, p. 172; Kortleitner, *Archeologia Biblica,* Innsbruck, 1917 (2d ed.), p. 466.

[142] So Jouon, *op. cit.,* pp. 67, 78; Kortleitner, *loc. cit.*

[143] So Bertholet, *op. cit.,* p. 174. The *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* Vol. IV, 5247 sq. calls it an ample wrap.

[144] Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon,* Tuebingen, 1937, 336. See also Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique,* Paris, 1939, Vol. I, pp. 484 f.

The Pan-Sumerian interpretation of the Book of Ruth has been arbitrary up to this place, but the worst is now to come. The bland statement that at midnight Ruth conceives a son from Booz, and that this is to be paralleled by the action of Lot's daughters and by Thamar's deception of Juda represents the ultimate in baseless assertion. There is no need for a detailed refutation. To justify the interpretation proposed by Jeremias the book would have to be rewritten in its entirety, Booz' rational *midnight* conversation with Ruth (3:9 sqq.) turned into drunken mumbling, the text of chap. 4:13 thrown out bodily, and the character of the man with his fine regard for the prior legal right of another changed into something radically different. Surely if this is the way a thesis is proved *einwandfrei,* then the rules of historical evidence must also be rewritten.[145]

ad f) What is so significant in the fact that Noemi takes upon herself the office of Obed's nurse? Grandmothers were the same then as now, and legally Noemi stood in this relationship to the child. From *ATAO,* 747, *s.v.* אמן it would seem that the אֹמֶנֶת is to be understood of the person who rescues the redeemer child from the dangers to which it is exposed, these dangers being another of the mythical motifs. But there is no reason to suppose that Obed is pictured in the motifs of the redeemer child (cf. note 145). And certainly it was inconsiderate of the hagiographer to supply the guardian against the dangers and then say absolutely nothing about the dangers themselves. On the contrary, the child's position is secure and his prospects the brightest: born of a love marriage, his father a rich and influential citizen of Bethlehem, nursed by a doting grandmother, no dangers are in sight for him.

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[145] The whole purpose of Jeremias' exposition is to show that the child of Booz and Noemi is delineated with the traits of the Sumerian redeemer myth—specifically with the mysterious birth motif of the redeemer child (cf. *supra,* p. 276 sq.). But nowhere is there any "mystery" in the birth of Obed. As the text clearly shows, he is not born of a *kedesha* but of an honest wife. He is evidently not *ἀπάτωρ-ἀμήτωρ.* There is no virgin birth; 4:13 excludes it. We cannot speak of humble origins, since Booz was one of the magnates of Bethlehem (2:1). And finally there is no reason to suppose that Ruth was unfruitful.

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And so, neither for Sarah nor for Ruth has a mythic style been proved. Important differences between them and their alleged prototype, the Mesopotamian Mother Goddess, are disregarded by the Pan-Sumerian interpretation, and where parallels are claimed, the resemblances are very superficial indeed. And even if it should be possible to demonstrate a greater likeness, it would be necessary to prove that the *sequence* of the motifs[146] and likewise their *motivation* are the same, before one could speak of any dependence upon a Sumero-Babylonian mythic style.

We think that this testing of the Sarah and Ruth accounts gives the veil motif a fair trial. Throughout the section in *Schleier* devoted to the Sacred Scriptures, far-fetched parallels and statements of the *ipse dixit* kind are scattered about with a lavish hand. For example, p. 30 offers the following. In 2 Kgs. 13:1 sqq., following the style of the Dioscuri legend, Absalom avenges his ravished sister Thamar, whose virginal character (Virgo-Ishtar!) is emphasized. Now her garment, like that of Joseph, is called כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים, to which a glossator adds, "for such is from of old the dress of princesses." This glossator well knew that princesses are fundamentally representatives of the Mother Goddess—*voilà tout!*

To study every case of this type in detail would require far more space than this article, already too long, affords, but in conclusion let us return to the "world-garment" concept and see whether it occurs in the Sacred Scriptures.[147]

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[146] One of the boasts of the school has always been its "total" study of related myths: "the establishment of literary borrowings in single cases leads to no result," by this means one can "group phenomena, but the living bond of union remains unrevealed"—So Jeremias in *The Hibbert Journal* 4 (1905) 217, criticizing Cheyne, *Bible Problems and the New Material for their Solution.* The entire myth in one culture must be compared with the entire myth in another, and only when the majority of the component motifs are identical can the identity of the two myths, and consequently the dependence of the one on the other be affirmed: thus Stucken, *Astralmythen,* p. 128. These are certainly excellent principles, but apparently more honored in the breach than in the observance.

[147] *Schleier,* p. 27 sq.

First of all, the homely likeness in Mk. 2:21 (Mt. 9:16; Lk. 5:36) plainly based upon the every-day life of the people, is quite arbitrarily paraphrased, "the new world that is come in me . . . is like unto a new *world-garment (Weltenkleid.)*" Of course, nothing of the kind appears in the text. The comparison of the heavens to a garment which grows old and to a vestment which will be changed (Ps. 102:26 sq.) is simply a figure of speech from which we cannot prove the presence of a *Weltenmantel* concept in Israel, and even less does it picture the heavens as "the living garment of the godhead" (so *Schleier*, p. 27). The same is to be said of Isa. 40:22, where Jeremias translates דֹּק as "veil," though all we can say about the word is that it means thin, fine cloth. Of the two members of Ps. 104:2 the first merely uses the word שַׂלְמָה as one term of a comparison, while the second likens the creation of the heavens to the spreading out and raising of a tent.[148] A tent cloth is not a garment, and the *tertium comparationis* seems to be the ease with which God creates the world. Jeremias himself admits that in poetical passages such as these the symbol only shimmers through, but what must first be proved is the assumption that the Hebrews knew a symbolic cosmic veil at all.

What we have set down here does not intend to deny Mesopotamian influence upon the language and the modes of expression in which the Old Testament was written, but whatever the nature and extent of that influence, a veil motif in the Pan-Sumerian sense was certainly no part of it.[149]

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[148] It may be noted that in Mesopotamia the heavens probably were also seen as a tent, cf. note 111, *supra*.

[149] Acknowledgements are due to the following publishers for courteous permission to quote from their publications: The Johns Hopkins Press, The Macmillan Company, The Oxford University Press, The Yale University Press, The University of Chicago Press.

ALONG THE NORTH SHORE OF THE SEA OF GALILEE

A TOPOGRAPHICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL STUDY

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The narrow strip of land that is set between the Sea of Galilee and the foothills of the Anti-Lebanon mountains has been of unique importance in the religious history of the world. In it the Savior worked some of his most striking miracles and made many of his most significant pronouncements. From its inhabitants he chose nearly half of his apostles and in its present state we witness the fulfillment of some of his most dire prophecies. The problems which arise when a detailed archeological study is attempted are manifold, as the sequel of this paper will show.

The surface of the water in this sea lies 208 m. beneath that of mean ocean level. Yet the water is fresh and abounds in fish. West-southwest from the Jordan River as it ends its first lap runs a low coast line with many small indentations. Behind the narrow strip of shore rises a basalt region, first gradually, then steeply, to form the forbidding heights of Mt. Hermon. At the west the Tell ʻOrēme, a limestone ridge separates the basalt region from the Plain of Genesareth. This promontory juts out slightly into the sea, leaving only a narrow road at its southern edge. Two passes or defiles connect this secluded region with Damascus and Syria: the eastern one contains the ruins of Khirbet Kerâzeh, the western is called Wady el-Djamûs (Valley of Buffaloes). The highest part of the coastal region has no perennial source of water and has never been permanently inhabited.

From geological observations Father Koeppel has derived the conclusion that at the end of the ice period the water of the sea stood about 10 m. higher than the present mean level. On the other hand he also produces archeological evidence that at some unknown time, between then and the beginning of our era, the surface was 1-2 m. lower than at present and that within the epoch of human habitation.[1] The coast line was then 20 to 30 m. farther south than at present. Only more detailed examination can lead to a determination of the time with greater exactness.

After these brief notes on the geographical features we shall give a description of archeological finds and excavations, leaving for later the discussion of identifications. As we move westward from the Jordan River we reach, at a distance of about three km. the most extensive field of ruins within the area which we are studying, Tell Hum. For the distance of about one km. along the shore and inland nearly 400 m. the ground is strewn with building stones and other rests of various types. Everything points to the existence of a thriving and prosperous provincial town where now the Bedawi come from their wretched huts to seek for supposed treasure. The name seems to be derived from some well known Jewish rabbi who had his last restingplace here.[2]

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[1] Rob. Koeppel, S.J., *Biblica*, 13 (1932), pp. 305-307.

Most impressive and best preserved among the ruined buildings is an ancient synagogue. This stands towards the western end of the field and about 80 m. from the shore line. This has been the object of archeological excavations and study at various times, and is now considered to be one of the most important among the ancient Palestinian synagogues that have been preserved, though as yet the question of date is not entirely settled. It shows the influence of Greco-Roman architecture as modified by the local traditions in northern Palestine. The material of construction was a fine limestone which was brought from stone quarries to the northwest. Both inside and outside the building was adorned with carvings in the taste of the earlier centuries of our era. The facade is orientated towards the lake and towards Jerusalem, south but slightly southwest. The building has a length of 24.40 m. and a width of 18.65. On the east side there is an enclosed court of slightly irregular shape. Within the building are three rows of columns so arranged that there is an inner space and a corridor on the east, west and north. This gangway was surmounted by galleries for the women. The pillars rest on stylobates 0.14 m. high and 0.83 m. wide. Along the base of the walls on the east and west sides runs a double stone bench. The place of the Theba is clearly marked, just two metres from the central door on the south, but it is doubtful whether this exposed position is the primitive one. There are other evidences of a reconstruction, perhaps after one of the earthquakes that from time to time visited this region.[3]

It appears that this building as well as the rest of Tell Hum was the victim of a violent earthquake, perhaps in the latter part of the seventh century. The land became desolate so that medieval travellers hardly make mention of it. Because of its solidity of construction the synagogue fared better than most of the other houses. The west and north walls are preserved in good part; the east and south survive only in one layer above the foundations. Much of the materials that had fallen were found strewn about so that a reconstruction of plan was not overly difficult. Particular interest attaches to the well preserved sculptures in relief with which the building was adorned. Contrary to an opinion which was commonly held until quite recent date, the Jews of those days had no fear of floral or even of animal representations in their synagogues. It is indeed true that at some period the animal figures were carefully effaced but the outlines of the representations can still be traced. That this was not done by a mob is clear from the care which was taken not to harm the other figures. Father Orfali is inclined to think that this was due to a puritanical reaction of some rabbinical school towards the end of the second century A.D.[4] However the recent discovery of a parallel act of vandalism at Gerasa in the Christian churches in the time of the Caliph Yazid II (720-724) makes it more probable that this was the cause.[5] On this supposition the destruction of Tell Hum would have to be assigned to a later date.

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[2] See G. Orfali, O.F.M., *Capharnaum et ses ruines* (1922), p. 9ff.; B. Meistermann, *A New Guide to the Holy Land* (London, 1923), p. 546 f.

[3] Orfali, *op. cit.*, p. 22-86.

There is no decisive epigraphical or historical evidence for assigning a precise date to the construction of the synagogue. The artistic methods suppose a time of prosperity and, therefore, seem to rule out any period later than the Jewish uprising of 70 A.D. Historically, it appears that none of the emperors from Antoninus Pius (138-161) to Alexander Severus (222-235) favored the Jews of Galilee.[6] We are left to assign it, therefore, to the time of prosperity inaugurated by Herod the Great and ending with the Jewish war.

The first to visit and describe the ruins of the synagogue in modern times was Captain Wilson, in 1865.[7] V. Guerin visited it in 1870. In 1895 the Friars Minor of the Custodia obtained possession of the land which included the ruins of Tell Hum, thus securing them against further pillage.[8] Systematic excavation and study were begun by H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, in 1905.[9] Since then the Franciscan Fathers at various intervals have carried on the work, which is summed up in the fine volume of Father Orfali.[10] As our knowledge of the history of other synagogues in Galilee and the rest of Palestine increases a comparative study of them may result in definite conclusions on obscure points.

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[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 99 f.

[5] See F. M. Biebel in Gerasa: City of the Decapolis, p. 301.

[6] Orfali, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-82.

[7] *Loc. cit.*, p. 10.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 11 f.

Excavations carried on south of the synagogue brought to light a house of rather late date which had been built of preexisting materials.[11] Beyond this remnants were found of a polygonal structure whose mosaic floor was preserved. This turned out to be formed of three concentric octagons, of which the outermost measured 22.50 m. per side, the second 6.90 m., and the innermost 3.30 m.[12] It was impossible to determine the nature of the building which covered this mosaic floor.

No inscription or other monumental source has revealed to us what this ruined municipality was called in its day. What other sources contribute will be discussed when we have finished the description of the whole region.

From Tell Hum northwards runs a road which enters a pass that gradually narrows till it is a mere ravine. On its western side a rock formation stretches upward. Here the remains of an ancient settlement can be seen, partly in the valley and partly on the top of a rocky projection on the left. An ancient synagogue has been identified. This, as well as the other structures, were built with basalt. Khirbet Kerâzeh is the Arabic name given to the place, which is two Roman miles from Tell Hum.[13]

Moving westward along the shore from Tell Hum, the wanderer will come upon a circular tower of bee-hive shape, about half an hour's walk distant. It is really an ancient water tower which is still filled by a spring; the diameter is 26 ft. The name given it by the Arabs is Tannur Hammâm Ayûb (Kiln of the baths of Job).[14]

About 150 m. further to the west is Tannur Ayûb el-Hasel or Aïn el-Hasel, the northernmost of the springs of the Heptapegon, of which more will be said presently. It is a cylindrical tower, twenty-two feet high, within which water rises to a height of sixty feet above the level of the lake. A conduit leads the water to the middle of Ghueir.[15]

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[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

[10] G. Orfali, O.F.M., *Capharnaum et ses ruines* (Paris: Picard, 1922).

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 14 f., 104.

[13] Meistermann, *A new Guide*, p. 552 f.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 546.

Slightly south of this is another tower of octagonal shape having a circumference of 240 and a height of 33 feet. The base is ancient but the upper part dates from the eighteenth century. It is known as Aïn Ali ed-Dhaher, after the restorer, or also Aïn Ayûb et-Tabigah. Here the water of three of the springs of the Heptapegon is gathered to be conducted to a small Italian colony on a hill to the north-west.[16]

South of this and at the very edge of the water, is a small modern church dedicated to the Primacy of Peter. The western part rests on foundations of ancient date. On the south side an old staircase is cut into the rock. At a lower level shafts of a row of columns are seen protruding from the ground.[17]

With this we have arrived at the small peninsula which, with the bay adjoining it, is called et-Tabga, the Arabic derivative of Heptapegon.[18] This inlet has always been noted for its fisheries, which are the best of the sea. Upon it debouches the narrow valley, known as the Wadi ed-Djamûs, which comes down from the northwest. At the western edge rises the Tell el-'Orēme, along whose base passed the *Via Maris* of Roman times. This marks the western limit for our present study. The name Heptapegon belongs to this spot by reason of the seven springs that flowed here, five of which are still active.[19] It is now used by a German hospice which has been built for the accommodation of pilgrims.

A little inland from the shore are several points of archeological interest. A very short distance north of Hammâm Ayub and in the face of a hill is a grotto with the name Mughârat Ayûb. It is a natural formation of somewhat irregular shape, with an opening of 5.50 m. and depth of 3 m. Bedawi adorn it with ex-votos in the belief that it was connected with holy Job. There are also a few fragments of Byzantine ceramics as reminders of ancient habitation.[20]

A few steps west of the Ain Ali ed-Dhaher and nearly 100 m. north of the church of the Primacy, is the ruin known as the church of the Multiplication of Loaves. This constitutes one of the most interesting and important finds in Christian antiquities of Galilee. Excavations were made in 1932 with good results. They revealed the remains of a basilica of somewhat irregular shape. The extreme length is 51 m., the width varies from the front to the rear. The church had an atrium, a narthex, three naves, a transept and a semicircular apse enclosed in a rectilinear rear wall. Of the walls only a few inches remain above the foundation on the east, north and west; on the south side nothing of them remains. The altar was built round and over an irregular block of limestone, which was held sacred because of the tradition attached to it, of which more will be said soon. A mosaic floor of high artistic value is in great part preserved. Buildings, such as a city-gate and towers, plants and animals of elegant design, vary with geometrical patterns. Father Mader, who reported on this find, assigns the erection of this basilica to the middle of the fourth century, but the presence of the narthex and transept would seem to be against such an early dating.[21]

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[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 543. [16] *Ibid.*

[17] B. Bagatti, O.F.M., "La cappella sul monte delle Beatitudini," *Revista d'Archeologia cristiana*, 14 (1937), p. 50.

[18] Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

[19] Ἑπταπηγῶν (χωρίον); Ἑπτάπηγαι would be more correct.

[20] Bagatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 45 f.

Just north of this church is a road and beyond this rises the Hill of the Beatitudes. A short way up this hill and a few rods northeast of the church just described is a grotto natural in origin but artificially enlarged. It has a length of about 4.20 m., a width of 2.20 m., while in height it is 3.50 m. Its walls have been covered with stucco, but there is no other evidence of a sacred character. Above this cave but unconnected with it a ruined building has been excavated which has a peculiar interest. It was a modest chapel or small church with a single nave. The inner length is 7.20 m., the width 4.48 m. There was a semicircular apse and a small atrium. The walls on the north and east side were partly formed of the native basalt of the hill. Of the other walls, which consisted of basalt blocks, only small portions remain. Attached to the chapel were several rooms: on the north side one hewn out of the live rock, 3.20 m. to the side; on the south side a rectangular room measuring 11.70 by 11.79 m.; at the southwest one measuring 1.14 by 1.18 m., this at a somewhat lower level; walls that were to the west of the atrium could not be sufficiently identified as to their character. There is sufficient evidence that this edifice of such modest proportions and located in such an unfavorable spot was once elegantly decorated and must have enshrine a memory of considerable religious significance. What this is will be determined in conection with the general question of identification.[22]

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[21] A. E. Mader, *Biblica* 13 (1932), p. 297. A detailed report by the same author in *Acti del congresso di archeologia cristiana di Ravenna*, p. 507 ff.

North of the church of the Beatitudes the hill rises steeply to a height of 300 m. above the level of the lake. To the west is the small Wadi el-Djamûs with its ancient road and beyond rises the Tell el-'Orēme with its secrets.[23] Here the limestone region of Galilee begins. At its base and at the end of Wadi is a small bay of et-Tabga.

Before entering upon a more detailed discussion of the reminiscences that attach to these places we must seek to identify the ancient name of Tell Hum. No inscription comes to our aid, but a few things may be gathered from ancient guides to the Holy Land. Theodosius, in his *De situ terrae sanctae* which was written in 530 A.D., tells that from Magdala to the seven springs . . . is two miles . . . From the seven springs to Capharnaum, two miles."[24] Magdala is well known, being the present Migdal on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, north of Tiberias. Again, there can be no hesitation about the 'seven springs,' the Heptapegon or the modern eṭ-Ṭabga. The two Roman miles from there to the ruins described above are quite exact. That this is the right direction is confirmed from what follows in the text, where he says that from there to Bethsaida are six miles and to Paneas fifty. The Bethsaida here meant is evidently Bethsaida Iulias in the Gaulanitis. To this evidence we may add two other documents which, in the opinion of Father Bagatti, depend upon the same source.[25] Epiphanius Monachus of the ninth or tenth century, in his *Enarratio Syriae,* tells that the pilgrim coming from the cave "in quo habitabat Praecursor," in the Transjordan region, comes "to the land Kapernaum . . . and then after one mile to the stone . . . where (Jesus) healed the woman with the flux of blood. Again after about another mile you find a castle (?) . . . called Heptapegon. . . . And again after about two miles . . . to Magdala."[26] Nicephorus Callistus has the same order of names, though he has the events in the journey of Queen Helena somewhat confused and omits the precise distances.[27] We are therefore safe in declaring that Tell Hum is what is left of the ancient town Capharnaum or Kapernome. This agrees with a passage in Josephus where he relates that on one occasion during the early part of the Jewish war he had prepared an ambush for the Roman troops who were stationed at (Bethsaida) Julias. In the melée he had a serious accident when his horse stumbled and threw him. He was carried *εἰς κώμην* Κεφαρνικὸν *λεγομένην* and from there made his way to Tiberias.[28] Evidently Capharnaum was the nearest place of any importance.

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[22] B. Bagatti, "La cappella sul monte delle Beatitudini," *RAC.*, 14 (1937), 53-63.

[23] See, e.g., A. E. Mader, "Die Ausgrabungen auf dem deutschen Besitz Tabgha am See Genesareth," *Biblica,* 13 (1932), pp. 293-297; R. Koeppel, "Der Tell 'Orēme und die Ebene Genesareth," *loc. cit.*, pp. 298-308; A. Bea, S.J., "Effosiones 1939 in Tell el-'Orēme factae," *Biblica,* 20 (1939), p. 306.

[24] *CSEL.*, 39, p. 138.

[25] *RAC.*, 14 (1937), p. 84 f.

We are now prepared to add more details from early and medieval guides and travellers regarding the places mentioned in our description. The earliest and most complete is a passage found in the *Liber de locis sanctis* of Peter the Deacon.[29] This excerpt is considered by Gamurrini and Geyer to be part of the lost portion of the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae,* of which the only manuscript known is the incomplete one at Arezzo. This very important work was written in the last years of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth. It will be worth while to give the passage in full, as it is fundamental for our purpose:

> In Capharnaum a church has been made out of the house of the Prince of the Apostles; its walls stand to this day as they were There the Lord cured the paralytic. There is the synagogue in which the Lord cured the demoniac; ascent is made to it by many steps; it is built of squared blocks.
>
> Now not far from there you behold steps on which the Lord stood. But there above the sea is a rich field with much grass and many palm trees and next to them seven springs, of which each one gives off a very great amount of water; in this field the Lord fed the people with five loaves and two fishes. Indeed, the stone on which the Lord placed the bread has been made into an altar and from the stone the pilgrims at present take away chips for their health and this proves a benefit to all. Next to the walls of the church the public road passes where Matthew the Apostle had his tollbooth. Hence to the mountain, which is near, (where there) is a cave to which the Savior ascended and spoke the Beatitudes.[30]

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[26] MPG., 120, c. 270.

[27] MPG., 146, c. 113.

[28] Josephus Flavius, *Vita,* n. 403.

[29] *CSEL.,* 39, p. 319.

[30] *CSEL.,* 39, p. 112 f. In Capharnaum autem ex domo apostolorum principis ecclesia facta est, cuius parietes usque hodie ita stant, sicut fuerunt. Ibi paraliticum Dominus curavit. Illic est synagoga, in qua Dominus daemo-

As a preliminary, it must be remarked that it is not the purpose of this cultured observer to give a detailed description of any place but in each to point out some salient feature which might be of interest to those for whom she was making her notes. So here, for instance, the Church of the Multiplication is only mentioned in connection with the public road but the altar is singled out.

The church at Capharnaum is mentioned by several other travellers and topographers. As to the date of beginnings of christianity in that city we have a negative one from Epiphanius. In his Panarion he tells at great length the story of his conversion told him by a certain Count Joseph, then an aged man living in Galilee. This Count had been a Jew of high rank, but after his conversion had entered the service of the Emperor Constantine and obtained from him the permission to build Christian churches in towns of Galilee where so far none existed. Among these Capharnaum is expressly mentioned. The project met with much opposition, the first place where it was carried out being Tiberias.[31] When he succeeded in Capharnaum we are not told but it can hardly have been much before the middle of the fourth century. Whether, after the lapse of three centuries and with no Christian tradition, it was possible to be sure about the exact house where St. Peter had dwelt may be questioned. There can be no doubt, however, that at the end of the century a church existed which was looked upon as the transformed house of Simon Peter.

In 670 A.D. Arculf, as reported by Adamnan, stood on a hill overlooking Capharnaum. He says that it was an unwalled town, occupying a narrow strip of land between a mountain and the

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niacum curavit, ad quam per gradus multos ascenditur; quae synagoga ex lapidibus quadratis est facta. Non longe autem inde cernuntur gradus lapidei, super quos Dominus stetit.

Ibidem vero super mare est campus herbosus, habens foenum satis et arbores palmarum multas et iuxta eas septem fontes, qui singuli infinitam aquam emittunt, in quo campo Dominus de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus populum satiavit. Sane lapis, super quem Dominus panem posuit, est factum altarium, de quo lapide nunc frusta tollunt venientes pro salute sibi et prodest omnibus. Iuxta cuius ecclesiae parietes via publica transit, ubi Matthaeus apostolus theoloneum habuit. Inde in montem, qui iuxta est, est spelunca, in qua ascendens beatitudines dixit Salvator.

[31] Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* I., 2, haer. xxx, MPG., 61, c. 410-426.

sea, being very long in comparison with its width.[32] It had, therefore, survived the Persian invasion of 614. This description is repeated almost verbatim by Ven. Bede.[33] How long this city still remained is unknown to us. The synagogue which Aetheria describes may be the same as was described above, though there is a little difficulty about the 'many steps' which she mentions.

At the Heptapegon or eṭ-Ṭabga three distinct sanctuaries are distinguished, each enshrining a memory of our Lord's life. First come "the steps on which the Lord stood." Mention was made before of the steps at the edge of the water and of the shafts of columns protruding from the ground. Aetheria says nothing of any memory from the life of Christ attached to these. Theodosius, in 530 A.D., speaks of the 'septem fontes ubi dominus Christus baptizavit apostolos,' which may allude to the choosing of the twelve.[34] An anonymous *Commemortorium de casis Dei,* written in 808 A.D., speaks of a church 'iuxta mare' which is called 'that of the twelve thrones.'[35] Nothing more definite is known and to all appearances the excavator's spade must be depended upon for further information.

We are somewhat more fortunate when dealing with the basilica which was excavated at the foot of the hill. Aetheria says that here we are at the place where Jesus worked the miracle of feeding the multitude with five loaves and two fishes.[36] She merely mentions the church incidentally but gives some attention to the block of limestone on which Christ, according to tradition, had placed the loaves. The fact of the memory of this miracle at the Heptapegon is also mentioned by Theodosius, though he says nothing about a church.[37] On the other hand Arculf, in 670 A.D., while himself mentioning the miracle, says that 'there are no buildings to be seen but only a few columns of stone lying at the edge of a small spring.' This was after the Persian invasion of 614 A.D.[38] The document which was employed by Epiphanius the Monk, by Nicephoros Callistos as well as by an anonymous *Vita de S. Elena et Constantino*[39] tells of the church, the last named work ascribing its erection to St. Helena. Epiphanius even says *εὑρίσκεις καστέλλιον ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν*

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[32] *Adamnani de locis sanctis,* libri tres, II, 24, *CSEL.,* 39, 273.
[33] *Op. cit.,* p. 319. [34] Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae, CSEL.,* 39, 138.
[35] Quoted by Bagatti, *RAC.,* 14 (1937), 84, note 1.
[36] Mt. 14:13-21; Mk. 6:34-44; Lk. 9:10-17; Jn. 6:1-15.
[37] *Loc. cit.* [38] *Loc. cit.* [39] Quoted by Bagatti, *RAC.,* 14 (1937) 86.

ἐκκλησία μεγάλη.[40] Bagatti thinks that *καστέλλιον* may be used for monastery, and that we have here the evidence for a rebuilding after the time of Arculf.[41] However, we have no way of determining the age of this lost source and the medieval authors may be describing conditions which no longer existed in their day. Yet Father Bagatti's hypothesis receives some confirmation from the *Commemortorium de casis Dei,* of 808 A.D. The whole passage is as follows:

> Above the sea of Tiberias a monastery which is called Heptapegon, where the Lord fed five thousand of his people with five loaves and two fishes; here are ten monks.
>
> Also next to the sea a church which they call that of twelve thrones and there the Lord was with his disciples; there is the table where he sat with them; here are one priest and two clerics.[43]

The first paragraph, if taken independently of the second, would appear to be subject to no doubt. But the 'table . . .' suggests the stone on which the loaves according to tradition, had been placed. If we took the words 'iuxta mare' strictly, there would seem to be question of the church at the water's edge. Bagatti thinks that there is a confusion or a fusion of memories between the place of the Multiplication and that of the Beatitudes, which remains to be treated.[43]

Aetheria makes mention only of the cave at the place of the Beatitudes, saying nothing about a church. However, as explained above, her habit of noting only one or the other salient points sufficiently explains this omission. St. Valerius also in his *Epistola de beatissimae Aetheriae laude,* where he is known to be synopsising Aetheria, says that she "curavit . . . conscendere montem . . . in quo Dominus discipulos beatitudines docuit qui appellatur Heremus."[44] No written source speaks of a church, but archeological finds make its existence to be beyond dispute. Bagatti surmises that the second paragraph of the *Commemoratorium* just quoted really refers to this spot, the church of the Multiplication having disappeared and the memory which it enshrined having been transferred.[45] However this puts a rather wide construction on the 'iuxta mare' and there is nothing said about the hillside or cave.

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[40] Epiphanius monachus, *Enarratio Syriae,* MPG., 120, c. 270. Quoted also by Bagatti, *loc. cit.*

[41] *RAC.,* 14 (1937) 88.

[42] *Loc. cit.,* p. 84, note 1.

[43] *Loc. cit.,* p. 87.

[44] *Loc. cit.,* p. 83, note 1.

[45] *Loc. cit.,* p. 87.

Epiphanius the Monk and Nicephorus Callistus indicate a stone with a cross marked on it about midway between eṭ-Ṭabga and Capharnaum.[46] This, they say, is the place where our Lord cured the woman with the hemorrhage.[47]

It will now be in order to see how far these identifications can be made to harmonize with the gospel accounts and what additional information we may glean from them. The prominence of Capharnaum in the public activity of our Lord is clear to every diligent reader of the Gospels. At Capharnaum, in the territory of Zabulon and Nephthali, Jesus took up his residence after the death of John the Baptist.[48] Matthew marks the prophecy of Isaias (9:1 ff.) to show that this was according to divine plan. In this city Jesus taught in the synagogue and cured a demoniac.[49] In or near it he cured Peter's mother-in-law and many others.[50] From the shore in the vicinity he summoned the two brother-pairs to his service: Peter and Andrew, James and John.[51] At Capharnaum the Centurion made his profession of faith which elicited such high praise.[52] Returning again from the eastern shore of the lake, Jesus came to Capharnaum where he cured a paralytic, at the same time vindicating his power to forgive sins.[53] In the city or its neighborhood a tax gatherer left his booth to become the apostle Matthew.[54] This city, it seems, saw the raising to life of the daughter of Jairus.[55] Here Christ made his great promise of the Eucharist[56] and paid the temple tax.[57] Somewhere in this neighborhood, it seems, the deputation sent by John the Baptist interviewed the Savior.[58] Yet, nowhere did the authors of the Gospels think it necessary to indicate more precisely where this populous town was located. Its situation was supposed to be known and with relation to it other places were described. Christian tradition from the fourth century onwards points unequivocally to the site now known as Tell Hum. In the last years of the thirteenth century the careful Burchard de monte Sion points out that Josephus called the spring at the Heptapegon Capharnaum,[59] "quia totus campus qui est ab isto fonte usque ad Iordanem per duas leucas Capharnaum appellatur."[60]

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[46] *Ibid.*

[47] Mt. 9:20-26; Mk. 5:25-34; Lk. 8:42-48.

[48] Mt. 4:13.

[49] Lk. 4:31-37; Mk. 1:23-28.

[50] Mt. 8:14-18; Mk. 1:29-34; Lk. 4:38-41.

[51] Mt. 4:18-22; Mk. 2:16-20; Lk. 5:1-11.

[52] Mt. 8:5-13; Lk. 7:1-10.

[53] Mt. 9:1-8; Mk. 2:1-12; Lk. 5:18-26.

[54] Mt. 9:9-13; Mk. 2:13-17; Lk. 5:27-32.

[55] Mt. 9:18-26; Mk. 5:22-43; Lk. 8:41-56.

[56] Jn. 6:22-72.

[57] Mt. 17:23-26.

[58] Mt. 11:2-19; Lk. 7:18-35

The exact spot where Jesus pronounced the Beatitudes is not stated by any of the Evangelists. Yet a careful reading of the context gives us some help. Matthew tells us that when Jesus heard of the imprisonment of John the Baptist "he came and dwelt in Capharnaum." This is followed by the account of the call of the four disciples to follow him and the preaching-tour in Galilee (4:12-23). Without interruption there follow the Beatitudes and the rest of the Sermon on the Mount (5–7), after which Jesus at once entered Capharnaum again (8:5). On the other hand, Luke, after telling about the cure of the paralytic at Capharnaum (5:18-26) and the call of Levi together with some other incidents, passes on to the cure of the man with a withered hand in a synagogue (6:6-11). Then follows the choice of the Twelve and the Sermon, after which Jesus at once entered Capharnaum (7:1). All gives the impression, therefore, that this momentous discourse was delivered within easy reach of that favored city. The two Roman miles from there to the Mount of the Beatitudes correspond well to this demand.

In opening his account of the Sermon, Matthew says that Jesus "went up the mountain. And when he was seated . . . he taught" (5:1-2). Luke apparently is in contradiction, when he narrates that after the Savior had spent a night in prayer on a mountain he summoned his disciples to choose the Twelve (6:13), then "coming down with them, he took his stand on a level stretch" (6:17). The topography of the Mount of the Beatitudes gives the key for the solution. Just above the grotto, which was described above, there is a narrow level stretch, above which rises the steep mountain. Luke, as is usual with him, gives the events in chronological order: on the evening before Jesus climbed to the upper part or top of the mountain to spend the night in prayer; at dawn he descended far enough to hail the disciples and let them come up to him; this done he descended to the level spot on the lower part which was slightly above the plain where the crowds were assembled. This served as his vantage point for his instruction. St. Matthew, on the other hand, treats matters more topically. The choice of the Apostles he tells in another connection, so that in his abridgement here Jesus comes from the plain to the slight elevation from which he spoke. The two accounts thus can be brought into harmony.

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[59] *Bell. Iud.*, III, 10, 8.

[60] See *RAC.*, 14 (1937), 87, note 2.

The miracle of the Feeding of the Five Thousand is given by Matthew immediately after the account of the death of John the Baptist (14:13-21). He says that Jesus "withdrew by boat to a desert place apart" (v. 13). This means that it was not inhabited but not that it was barren, as a few lines further we hear that there was grass there. After the miracle the disciples took to the boat while Jesus went up the mountain. During the night Jesus came to the distressed followers by walking on the waters "and crossing over they came to the land at Genesar" which, according to most Greek manuscripts, should be Genesaret (14:34). Mark's account is in substance the same as this one. But he adds the circumstance that when going by boat to the "desert place" the people on the shore saw whither they were headed "and they hurried to the place on foot from all the towns, and got there ahead of them" (6:32-33). He also says that Jesus told the disciples to go "ahead of him to Bethsaida" (6:45). Luke adds that the desert place belonged to Bethsaida (9:10). John tells that from Jerusalem the Savior went "away to the other side of the sea of Galilee" (6:1). After the miracle the disciples "getting into the boat went across the sea towards Capharnaum" (6:17). The next day the crowds followed them to Capharnaum (6:24). As to the distance he informs us that the disciples had rowed "some twenty-five or thirty stadia," which amounts to about three to three and one half miles (6:19). The apostles may, of course, have stood out to sea somewhat, thus lengthening the distance actually covered. From all this several conclusions of some importance follow: the place of the Multiplication was near to the Sea of Galilee and near some mountain, hence Bethsaida Iulias is ruled out; hence also the place of the miracle was in the neighborhood of Bethsaida of Galilee; this town was very near to Capharnaum and in the same direction as it from the point of departure, since the same journey is described by John as "towards Capharnaum" and by Mark as "to Bethsaida." The only doubt which remains regards the direction from which the start was made. The strip between Capharnaum and the Jordan River seems hardly suitable and has no tradition attaching to it. We are, therefore, brought back to the neighborhood of the Seven Springs, that is to eṭ-Ṭabga. This district can be called a desert place in the scriptural sense because most of it becomes entirely barren during the hot summer months and has in consequence never been inhabited, but at the end of the rainy season a rich stand of grass springs up. The opinion of Meisterman that Bethsaida was just south of the Tell el'‘Orēme seems therefore to have little probability.[61]

It may have been noted that none of the descriptions quoted make any allusion to the existence of Bethsaida, the town of Peter, Andrew and Philip (Jn. 1:44). The manner in which the Evangelists tell of our Lord passing from the synagogue of Capharnaum to the home of Peter makes it seem that Bethsaida was in the very neighborhood of that city. It may well be that in the three centuries before Christians gained a foothold there Capharnaum had spread out along the sea and come to embrace this suburb. The home of James and John may well have been near one of the watertowers which we still see, signs of former villages. Future archeological investigations may throw more light on these problems.

Favored though the towns were in the narrow strip which lines the north shore of the Galileean lake, their obstinacy was their undoing. After Jerusalem, the severest denunciations which were pronounced fell upon these. Corozain and Bethsaida were threatened with a like judgment: "Woe to thee, Corozain! woe to thee Bethsaida! . . . I tell you, it will be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon on the day of judgment than for you." The judgment of Capharnaum was worded differently: "And thou, Capharnaum, shalt thou be exalted to heaven? Thou shalt be thrust down to hell! . . . I tell you, it will be more tolerable for the land of Sodom on the day of judgment than for thee" (Mt. 11:20-24; Lk. 10:12-15). The name of the first town still seems to linger beside a mass of shapeless ruins north of Tell Hum, Khirbet Kerâzeh. Bethsaida's name has disappeared from the region, while about the location of the greatest of them doubt lingers.

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[61] *A new Guide . . .*, p. 539 f.

ST. IRENAEUS AND THE DATES OF THE SYNOPTICS

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IV

II. Gospel Composition or Gospel Transmission? As the temporal phrase just considered certainly marks the death of Peter and Paul as the *terminus post quem* of the literary activity of Mark, our next problem is to determine the nature of that activity according to the mind of Irenaeus. But, simply, the problem comes to this: Were the words ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν intended by Irenaeus to emphasize the actual composition of Mk., or the transmission of that gospel down to Irenaeus' time? If the former be the case, we must frankly concede that Mk.—and Lk. too—were composed according to Irenaeus after the deaths of Peter and Paul. Irenaeus will then be clearly at variance, at least as regards Mk., with the tradition of those "earliest presbyters" reported by Clement of Alexandria. But if, on the contrary, Irenaeus is insisting rather on the fact of gospel transmission, the outlook will change considerably. For if Irenaeus is writing primarily of the continuation in written form of the oral gospel of Peter and not of the actual composition of that document, there need be no discord between Irenaeus and the tradition recorded by Clement. Now the text and context, if carefully weighed, do seem to show that no real disagreement exists.

A. Context. In our survey of the general context,[123] we saw that Irenaeus was chiefly insistent on the apostolic origin of the four gospels in use in his day. He was stressing the fact that the oral gospels of the four apostles—Matthew and John, Peter and Paul—were continuing to be heard, long after their deaths, in the four written gospels. We saw too that questions of gospel genuinity were not uppermost in Irenaeus' mind; that the two apostles, Peter and Paul, were of more importance to Irenaeus than Mark and Luke, the actual authors of the Second and Third Gospels.

It is then quite legitimate to infer that Irenaeus in the Markan testimony was not emphasizing the composition of that document so much as its transmission down to his own day. Certainly, after that very pointed remark in the previous context:[124] "per quos (sc. apostolos) evangelium *pervenit ad nos:* quod quidem tunc praeconaverunt, postea vero ... in scripturis *nobis tradiderunt,"* it is natural to give the phrase ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν in the Markan testimony its full emphasis. For we must not forget that our Four Gospel passage is illustrational in function.

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[123] Cf. *supra*, pp. 37 ff.

[124] Cf. *supra*, p. 34.

The emphatic character of ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν is corroborated by the practical objective which Irenaeus had in view throughout the whole first chapter of Book Three. "... et omnes isti, so runs his conclusion,[125] "unum Deum ... et unum Christum filium Dei *tradiderunt nobis:* quibus si quis non assentit, spernit ... participes Domini etc." The viewpoint of Irenaeus was clearly that of his own present time. He was inculcating the fact that the oral gospel of the apostles had been accurately transmitted down to his own day.

It is noteworthy, too, that in the Four Gospel passage the actual composition of Aramaic Mt. and of Jn. is not stressed so much as the fact of their publication. However in the case of the Third Gospel, the phrase ἐν βίβλῳ κατέθετο refers directly to the act of composition. This phrase, as we shall presently see, occasions no slight difficulty.

B. Text. Dom Chapman, in the article already mentioned, laid great stress on the force of the perfect tense in παραδέδωκεν. "It is obvious," he wrote,[126] "that 'after their death' has no connexion with 'in writing,' but that it goes with 'has handed down.' " This statement of the grammatical structure of the second testimony is correct. But it is not so certain that the perfect tense, even in conjunction with the data of the context, is sufficient without further corroboration to warrant much confidence in the explanation indicated. For it would be quite possible to see in παραδέδωκεν an instance of the aoristic perfect.[127] Now as an aoristic perfect, this verb in combination with ἐγγράφως would give expression, not to the idea of gospel transmission, but to that of gospel composition. It would point definitely to the act and moment of the composition of Mk.

Indeed, we may push this objection still further. We may say that on the face of it the verb παραδέδωκεν would seem to be an aoristic perfect. For παραδέδωκεν and the aorist κατέθετο of the Lukan testimony appear to be strictly parallel. Now if these two verbs are strict parallels, it is obvious to infer that, just as ἐν βίβλῳ κατέθετο expresses the actual composition of Lk., so ἐγγράφως . . . παραδέδωκεν must emphasize rather the composition of Mk. than its transmission. That both verbs are strictly in parallel, would seem to follow from the fact that both testimonies appear to be equally subject to the introductory formula "Post vero horum excessum."

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[125] Cf. *supra,* p. 35.

[126] Cf. J. Chapman, O.S.B., *art. cit., Journ. Theol. Stud.,* VI (1904-5) p. 567.

[127] On the aoristic perfect, cf. A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek of the New Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, ed. 3, 1919), pp. 898 ff.

Although the older editors of Eusebius and Irenaeus indicate a full stop after παραδέδωκεν, Schwartz in his edition of Eusebius for the *Berlin Corpus* separates the second and third testimonies only by a colon [= English semicolon]. Now at first sight it is natural to look upon "Post horum autem excessum" as a formula introductory to both testimonies. For since Mk., according to Irenaeus, is the gospel, not of Peter and Paul, but only of Peter, there is a natural predisposition to regard the phrase "after their death" as including both testimonies within its domain. There is a natural tendency to understand both deaths as marking together the *terminus post quem* not only of Mk. but also of the composition of Lk. Yet, however natural and obvious this reference of "after their death" to both testimonies may appear, it is not so certain that the introductory formula was intended by Irenaeus to include the Lukan testimony directly within its orbit.

Indeed, not only is it not certain that "after their death" goes also with the Lukan testimony, but there is evidence to show that that phrase exercises no direct influence whatsoever on the Lukan testimony. The two testimonies, it seems, are rather to be regarded as mutually quite independent. The two verbs παραδέδωκεν and κατέθετο are not to be considered as grammatical or even logical parallels. The verb κατέθετο, consequently, cannot be adduced as an argument in support of the aoristic interpretation of the perfect παραδέδωκεν. Let us now examine the evidence supplied in the text.

1. THE PHRASE "AFTER THEIR DEATH." In the preceding paragraphs we have outlined the reasons which would justify the extension of the phrase "after their death" to the Lukan testimony. These reasons show indeed that the phrase could be

understood to extend its influence to the third testimony, but they do not by any means prove that it must be so understood. One might urge, however, that the inclusion of the death of Paul in the introductory formula shows clearly that that formula was intended by Irenaeus to refer also to the Lukan testimony. For why should Paul be mentioned in connection with Mk.? If Irenaeus refers at times to Luke as the "follower of the apostles"[128] in the plural, he never speaks of Mark as the disciple of any apostle other than Peter.

The inclusion of the death of Paul in the introductory formula admits of a simple explanation, even though the formula itself be understood to refer exclusively to the Markan testimony. The explanation rests on Irenaeus' theory of the contemporaneous apostolates and deaths of Peter and Paul. Beginning his statement on the way in which the oral gospels of Peter and Paul continue still to be heard in the Church, Irenaeus sets down at once the *terminus a quo* of the perpetuation of their preaching. Now the perpetuation of Peter's preaching began naturally after the death of that apostle. As, however, Irenaeus considered the deaths of Peter and Paul as practically co-incident,[129] he sets down the death of both apostles to mark one and the same point of time, the *terminus a quo* of the perpetuation of Peter's oral gospel. It was at that point of time that the *paradosis*, the "handing down," of Peter's preaching in Mk. began—a *paradosis* that had continued right down to Irenaeus' own day.

2. THE INTRODUCTORY FORMULA OF THE LUKAN TESTIMONY. Our thesis that the Lukan testimony is quite independent of, not strictly co-ordinate with, the previous testimony on Mk., is supported very definitely by the fomula καὶ ... δέ used to introduce the Lukan testimony. If the third testimony read Λουκᾶς δέ, the reference of the phrase "after their death" to both testimonies would be clear-cut and indisputable. As the two testimonies would then be strictly parallel, they would have to be treated as contrasted co-ordinate members of one composite sentence. And the verb παραδέδωκεν, as counterpart to κατέθετο, would unquestionably be aoristic in force. It happens, however, that the Lukan

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[128] *Adv. Haer.* III, x, 1; ed. Harvey II, p. 33; MPG 7, 872 A.—A fuller presentation of Irenaeus' views on the relation of Luke to the apostles is to be found in *Adv. Haer.* III, xiv, 1 (ed. Harvey II, p. 75; MPG 7, 914 A): "Quoniam [sc. Lucas] non solum prosecutor, sed et cooperarius fuerit apostolorum, maxime autem Pauli."

[129] Cf. *supra*, p. 169.

testimony begins, not with Λουκᾶς δέ, but with καὶ Λουκᾶς δέ. Now this formula καὶ . . . δέ (et . . . . autem) is commonly, though perhaps not invariably, used by Irenaeus to usher in new sentences. Thus, apart from the present instances, the formula under consideration occurs some fifteen times in the Third Book of *Adv. Haereses*, and in fourteen cases it introduces new and independent sentences.[130] Hence, the presence of this formula in the Lukan testimony is strong evidence that the Lukan testimony is not grammatically co-ordinate with the preceding testimony on Mk.—that the Lukan testimony does not come within the sphere of influence of the phrase "after their death."

3. THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE IN THE LUKAN TESTIMONY. Our thesis of the independent character of the Lukan testimony becomes all the more reasonable and acceptable if we take note of the contents of that testimony. The evidence of the present participle κηρυσσόμενον cannot be overlooked. Luke, Irenaeus tells us, "set down in a book" the gospel τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον,—the gospel which was (then) preached by Paul.

a. TIME-CONNOTATION OF THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE. According to its normal force, the action of the present participle κηρυσσόμενον should be contemporaneous with the action expressed by κατέθετο. Normally, therefore, the Lukan testimony should convey the idea that at the time when Lk. was written, Paul was still alive and engaged in the active ministry of the gospel. No one of course will deny that the expression ἐν βίβλῳ κατέθετο designates the act and moment of the composition of Lk. And so, unless the normal connotation of the present participle is to be neglected, the Lukan testimony clearly informs us that Lk. was written sometime before Paul's death. In other words, the contents of the Lukan testimony seem to indicate that that testimony is not subject to the introductory formula "after their death."

It is, of course, quite true that the present participle in Greek is a form essentially timeless and durative and so may occasionally designate actions anterior to the time of a main verb. There are examples of this usage both in the classical authors and in later Greek. Several cases may be pointed out in the Greek of the New Testament.[131] But it is equally true that the present participle, according as it usually gives linear action, will normally indicate simultaneity or co-incidence of action with reference to the time of its main verb. Most critics will concede that such is the case in the participles *εὐαγγελιζομένων* and *θεμελιούντων* of the foregoing Matthaean testimony as well as in the participle *διατρίβων* of the Johannine testimony. We may add too that the Greek text of *Adv. Haereses* III, iii, 3-4,[132] which comes down to us through Eusebius, affords not a few instances of the normal usage of the present participle. It is, then, highly probable that *κηρυσσόμενον* in the Lukan testimony connotes an action contemporaneous with the writing of Lk.

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[130] In the single exception (*Adv. Haer.* III, xiv, 1), the words "et . . . autem" do introduce the primary clause of the sentence. This clause, however, is preceded by a dependent *quoniam*-clause.

b. WHAT IS TO BE SAID OF THE PARTICIPLE IN THE MARKAN TESTIMONY? One might object in view of the contents of the Markan testimony that we are pinning too much faith in the accuracy of Irenaeus' use of present participles. For is not Irenaeus' use of *κηρυσσόμενα* in the Markan testimony loose and inaccurate? For whether *παραδέδωκεν* means "has handed down" or "wrote" in combination with the adverb *ἐγγράφως*, the present participle does surely seem to be abnormal. It cannot imply that Peter's preaching was contemporaneous with the action of the verb *παραδέδωκεν*, since the introductory formula "after their death" definitely rules out that possibility.

The answer to this very real difficulty is to be found, it would seem, in the not improbable hypothesis that *κηρυσσόμενα* in the Markan testimony, as quoted by Eusebius, is not the primitive reading of Irenaeus. For while the *κηρυσσόμενον* of the Lukan testimony is fully supported by the "praedicabatur" of the old Latin version, and so may be regarded as unquestionably genuine, the reading "annuntiata erant" of that version does not agree with the form *κηρυσσόμενα* found in the Markan testimony according to Eusebius's quotation. This divergence in the Markan testimony naturally raises the question, Is *κηρυσσόμενα* the genuine Greek reading of Irenaeus?

This question is probably to be answered in the negative. For one thing, it is idle to explain "annuntiata erant" as a translation *ad sensum*. In that supposition, the ancient translator would have had equal, indeed greater, reason to translate the *κηρυσσόμενον* of the Lukan testimony by "praedicatum erat."[133] And, certainly, it is somewhat surprising to find a present participle in the Markan testimony right after the introductory formula "after their death." We should expect instead either the noun *κήρυγμα* or the aorist or perfect participle. For Irenaeus' way of referring to the teaching of Peter and Paul from the standpoint of the men of the generation which followed the death of the two apostles is very significant. Referring to the contemporaries of Clement of Rome, Irenaeus makes this statement:[134] "For there were still many left at that time who had been instructed (*δεδιδαγμένοι*) by the apostles [= Peter and Paul]."

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[131] Cf. A. Debrunner, *Friedrich Blass' Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, ed. 6, 1931), no. 339, 3 (p. 192); F.-M. Abel, O.P., *Grammaire du Grec Biblique* (Paris: Gabalda, 1927), no. 56, d, 2 (p. 264).

[132] In ed. Harvey II, pp. 10-15; MPG 7, 848 A-855 A.

Furthermore, a careful examination of the Latin version of those parts of *Adv. Haereses* where the Greek text is extant, leads to the conclusion that the ancient translator was generally accurate in his use of the Latin pluperfect. In the vast majority of cases, the pluperfect and the *perfectum exactum*[135] where they are used to translate Greek participles, correspond to Greek aorists. In Harvey's text active and deponent pluperfects of both the indicative and subjunctive, apart from conditional constructions, represent aorist participles thirty-five times, perfect participles three times, present participles three times.[136] We give these data on the active forms of the pluperfect for the reason that that form of the tense, being more frequent in occurrence, provides a better yardstick to gauge the Latin translator's use of that tense. Turning now to the passive pluperfect and to the *perfectum exactum* in the indicative and subjunctive, we will find that these forms correspond to aorist participles four times, to perfects three times, to present participles twice. If we limit the examination to the indicative, the forms in question will be found to stand for aorist participles twice, for perfect participles three times, for present participles twice.[137]

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[133] It should be noted that the old Latin translator uses "praeconare," "praedicare" and "annuntiare" indifferently to translate the Greek *κηρύσσειν*.

[134] *Adv. Haer.* III, iii, 3; ed. Harvey II, p. 10; MPG 7, 850 A.

[135] Viz., forms consisting in the perf. part. pass. with *fueram*, etc.

[136] For *ἐπιγινομένῳ* (Ed. Harvey I, p. 16; MPG 7, 456 A), the translator may have read *ἐπιγενομένῳ*. The "potuisset" used to translate *δυναμένου* (ed. Harvey I, p. 197) is probably due to the attraction of the foregoing "cum factus esset." The pres. part. *παραχαρασσόντων* ed. Harvey II, p. 14; MPG 7, 854 A) would perhaps have been better translated by the impft. subj.

In view of all this, it seems reasonable to assume that the Greek text which was used by the ancient Latin translator of *Adv. Haereses*, read either κεκηρυγμένα in the Markan testimony or κηρυχθεντα, not κηρυσσόμενα. Though the aorist participle would be the more probable form in the light of the general data listed above, there are reasons for favoring the perfect as the tense of the passive participle in the Greek text used by the ancient Latin translator. It is, of course, only a minor point that the aorist participle passage of κηρύσσω does not occur in the rather scanty Greek remnants of *Adv. Haereses*. Still the fact is not to be entirely overlooked, and especially as most of the other participial forms are found exemplified in this verb. What is of more interest is the fact that the perfect participle passive occurs at least three times in passages not too dissimilar in type from the one under consideration. Twice we find this expression:[138] [θεὸν] τὸν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον.

If then κεκηρυγμένα seems to have been the reading in the Greek text of the Markan testimony used by the ancient translator, it is most certainly a very old reading. Indeed, if the old Latin version dates from the end of the second century, there can be little doubt that it was Irenaeus' own reading. If, on the other hand, the old Latin version is to be dated in the latter half of the fourth century, the reading in question will be at least as old as the κηρυσσόμενα in Eusebius' excerpt. And on intrinsic grounds it is to be preferred to Eusebius' reading. For while the latter's κηρυσσόμενα truly enjoys the advantage of the *lectio difficilior*, this reading may very probably be due to the harmonizing tendency of early transcribers. For the eleven lettered κεκηρυγμένα could easily have been changed to the eleven lettered κηρυσσόμενα in order to effect a seeming harmonization of the Markan testimony with the κηρυσσόμενον of the Latin text. This change may have taken place sometime in the third century as the form κηρυσσόμενα seems to be the genuine text of Eusebius' excerpt.

[137] The Latin interpreter may have read καταθέν and συνθείσας for the two pres. participles κατατεθέν and συντεθείσας (ed. Harvey I, pp. 62, 68; MPG 7, 516 A, 521 B), a not uncommon mistake.

[138] *Adv. Haer.* III, xii, 5, 8; ed. Harvey II, pp. 58, 62; MPG 7, 897 C, 902, A.

4. OTHER DATA IN THE TIME OF LK. As, then, the form *κηρυσσόμενα* of the Markan testimony in Eusebius is not a grave obstacle to the strict interpretation of the participle of the Lukan testimony, it seems hard to avoid the conclusion that Irenaeus is giving us clearly to understand in the Lukan testimony that Paul was alive at the time the Third Gospel was composed. This conclusion seems all the more reasonable in view of the fact that there are other indications in *Adv. Haereses* that Irenaeus regarded Lk. as written in the lifetime of Paul.

Irenaeus, it must be admitted, seems to imply that Acts was written at the end of Paul's Roman captivity or shortly after. Having summarized in great detail the latter part of Paul's third missionary journey, Irenaeus makes this comment:[139] "(Lucas) refert . . . demonstrans . . . quemadmodum . . . Romam pervenerunt, et quanto tempore Romae commorati sunt. *Omnibus his cum adesset Lucas, diligenter conscripsit ea . . .*" Now Irenaeus states outright in the following chapter that Lk. was written before Acts. For he describes[140] Acts in relation to the Third Gospel as Luke's "*subsequent* testimony, where he treats of the acts and teachings of the apostles." So, unless the composition of Acts was placed by Irenaeus long after the conclusion of the Roman captivity described in Acts 28:16 ff., it is really difficult to escape the conclusion that Irenaeus dated the writing of Lk. well within the lifetime of Paul. This conclusion also fits in with Irenaeus' assertion[141] that the evangelist Luke "was entrusted" by Paul with the task of handing down that apostle's oral gospel.

5. SOME CONCLUSIONS. As then Irenaeus seems elsewhere to have held that Lk. was written in Paul's lifetime, as he appears to have employed the participle in the Lukan testimony according to its normal time-connotation, as the formula *καὶ . . . . δέ* is commonly used by him to introduce new and independent sentences and, finally, as his introductory phrase "after their death" need

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[139] *Adv. Haer.* III, xiv, 1; ed. Harvey II, p. 75; MPG 7, 914 A.

[140] ". . . propter hoc operatus est Deus plurima evangelia [= "gospel truths"] ostendi per Lucam, quibus necesse haberent omnes uti, ut *sequenti* testificationi ejus quam habet de actibus et doctrina apostolorum, omnes sequentes, et regulam veritatis inadulteratam habentes, salvari possint." *Adv. Haer.* III, xv, 1; ed. Harvey II, p. 79; MPG 7, 918 A. The datives "sequenti testificationi" follow the Greek construction.

[141] "Si autem Lucas quidem, qui semper cum Paulo praedicavit . . . et cum eo evangelisavit [*sic!*], et *creditus est* referre nobis evangelium. . ." *Adv. Haer.* III, xiv, 1; ed. Harvey II, p. 75; MPG 7, 914 B.

not be extended to the Lukan testimony, it seems perfectly justifiable to conclude that the Markan and Lukan testimonies were in the intention of Irenaeus two mutually independent propositions, not two co-ordinate members of one compound statement. In this case the verb παραδέδωκεν of the Markan testimony will not be strictly parallel to the aorist κατέθετο of the Lukan testimony. Consequently, the former verb need not be interpreted according to the aoristic pattern. Hence, it is quite legitimate to maintain that Irenaeus is using that verb according to the full force of the perfect tense, that he is stressing the fact of gospel-transmission. And that this is really Irenaeus' meaning, seems fairly obvious; for it is the clear inference to be drawn from our general argument and the clear teaching of Irenaeus' general context.

If, then, Irenaeus is emphasizing the idea of gospel-transmission in the Markan testimony, the phrase "after their death" must refer, as Dom Chapman held, to the idea "handed down," not to the act of composition. This latter thought will then be expressed only adverbially, in the word ἐγγράφως. In conformity with these conclusions, we may then translate the second and third testimonies as follows: "But after their decease, (it was) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, (who) personally handed down to us in written form (the tidings) that had been preached by Peter. Moreover Luke, the companion of Paul, set down in a book the gospel being preached by that (apostle)." This rough translation embodies the conclusions thus far reached.

III. IRENAEUS' VIEWS ON THE DATES OF MK. AND LK. While we have seen above[142] that Irenaeus places the composition of the Third Gospel prior to the death of Paul, the views of our author are less clear on the time of composition of Mk. In the translation just given as in the text itself, the Markan testimony is indefinite on the time of composition of the Second Gospel in relation to the death of Peter and Paul. For although Irenaeus clearly states that the 'handing down' or the oral gospel of Peter took place after the death of the two apostles, his text of the Markan testimony does not clearly indicate whether the actual composition of Mk. preceded the death of Peter and Paul, or, coming after their death, constituted the initial act of the subsequent perpetuation of Peter's oral gospel.

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[142] Cf. *supra*, pp. 452 f.

If the Markan testimony is unclear on this point, the mind of Irenaeus can be safely inferred, it would seem, from a comparison of the data contained in the Markan and Lukan testimonies. For if Irenaeus held the view that Lk. was written in the lifetime of Paul, he must *a fortiori* have maintained that Mk. was written before Peter's death. Placing Mk. ahead of Lk. in order of time, and holding that Paul's death occurred about the same time as the death of Peter, Irenaeus would naturally have to put the composition of Mk. earlier than that of Lk. within the common lifespan of Peter and Paul. Thus, the action expressed adverbially in the word ἐγγράφως is antecedent to the point of time marked by *ἔξοδον*.

And that Irenaeus placed Mk. ahead of Lk. in order of time, can hardly be questioned. He certainly puts Aramaic Mt. first and Jn. last. It is natural, therefore, to infer that his sequence Mk.-Lk. likewise indicates the order of time. No argument, as Th. Zahn rightly noted,[143] can be brought against this inference from the fact that the four evangelists are occasionally named in *Adv. Haereses* according to different sequences. In each case the variation is due to the exigencies of the immediate context. Placing Lk. third in the gospel sequence, Irenaeus is fully in agreement with the more or less contemporaneous *Muratorian Fragment*[144] and with Origen.[145]

In accordance with our conclusion[146] on the date of Aramaic Mt. in the chronological system of Irenaeus, our author must have placed Mk. and Lk., in that order, within the years A.D. 66-68. This conclusion seems obvious in the supposition that Irenaeus was conscious of the implications of his chronological system and that he followed out in practice the logical applications of that system. That Irenaeus did apply his chronological system in a consistent manner, seems clear from his statement in the *Demonstratio praedicationis apostolicae* quoted above.[147]

As in the case of the Matthaean testimony,[148] the genuine tradition used by Irenaeus in the second and third testimonies can be discovered with high probability by setting aside such elements in those testimonies as are peculiar to Irenaeus. Accordingly, if the false chronology followed by Irenaeus is set aside, the ancient tradition would appear in the following form: Mk. would be presented as earlier than Lk., but after Aramaic Mt.; Mk. would be described as written in the lifetime of Peter, in agreement with the statement of those "earliest presbyters" quoted by Clement of Alexandria;[149] Lk. would be composed in the lifetime of Paul. Whether the deaths of Peter and Paul were described in the primitive tradition as closely contemporaneous, cannot be determined. In a general way, the decade preceding A.D. 64-67, the years within which Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom, would probably be indicated as the period in which Mk. and Lk., in that order, were composed.

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[143] Cf. Th. Zahn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 180 f.

[144] Cf. E. S. Buchanan, "The Codex Muratorianus," *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, VIII (1906-7), p. 540; M. J. Rouët de Journel, *Enchiridion Patristicum* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, ed. 9, 1932), p. 105.

[145] Origen, *In Matthaeum*, fragment from Tom. I, quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, VI, xxv, 4-6; CGS Berol., Euseb., Tom. II-2, p. 576; MPG 20, 581 B.

[146] Cf. *supra*, pp. 177 f. [147] Cf. *supra*, p. 172. [148] Cf. *supra*, pp. 301 ff.

CONCLUSION

Irenaeus' Four Gospel passage, so far as the dating of the Synoptics is concerned, is admittedly obscure.[150] The safe way to discover Irenaeus' views on the Gospel dates is to study not only the text of the Four Gospel passage, but also the whole context. For that passage is not an isolated paragraph like the fragments of the letter of Dionysius of Corinth to the Romans. Neither may the textual data of the old Latin version be entirely disregarded in favor of the Greek fragment handed down by Eusebius. The genuine Greek text of Irenaeus must be determined from a study of both ancient witnesses. These are the lines followed by us in our study of the Four Gospel passage.

In our study of the problem, we have noted that Irenaeus, though not primarily concerned with precise time-indications, does provide certain data which cannot be overlooked; now these data can have had but one definite meaning, the meaning given them by Irenaeus. As these data involve historical and chrono-

[149] Cf. *supra*, p. 36.

[150] Certainly the Biblical Commission, in its reply of June 19, 1911, was justified in denying that "Irenaei testimonium [*Adv. haer.* lib. 3, cap. 1, n. 2], incertae et controversae interpretationis, tanti ponderis sit existimandum, ut cogat reicere eorum sententiam, qui congruentius traditioni censent, eamdem redactionem [viz., of Aramaic Mt.] etiam ante Pauli in Urbem adventum fuisse confectam." Cf. *Acta Apost. Sedis*, III (1911), p. 295.

logical views, the peculiar position taken by Irenaeus in matters of New Testament history and chronology could not be disregarded in our study.

The times which our author would assign to the composition of the three Synoptics is quite impossible from the standpoint of New Testament chronology. As however the Four Gospel passage in other respects agrees with the general tradition current in the second and third centuries, it was natural to consider the hypothesis that although Irenaeus had at hand a genuinely ancient tradition, he had presented that tradition in a manner that would suit his own peculiar views. That Irenaeus might well have been the possessor of a genuine first century tradition, is surely not difficult to conceive. And that he might easily have presented an ancient tradition according to his own special views is only too certain from what we have seen of his teachings on the public life of Christ.

So, taking the three testimonies on the Synoptics, we have removed such elements as could not be of first century origin. The remaining elements are in all likelihood a tradition handed down from the apostolic age. For the three testimonies, once the details traceable to Irenaeus' peculiar historical and chronological opinions, are removed, are no longer found to be in disagreement with the common tradition. If the time of composition of Mk. is indefinite in the Four Gospel passage, there are other indications, direct and indirect, that Irenaeus placed the writing of that gospel before Peter's death. It cannot, therefore, be said that Irenaeus represents a first century tradition different from that recorded by Clement of Alexandria and generally accepted in subsequent ages.

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MISSAL EPISTLES FROM ROMANS

XII

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The following passage from the epistle to the Romans is read as the lesson for the second Sunday after the Epiphany:

12:6 We have gifts differing according to the grace that has
been given us, such as prophecy to be used according to the
7 proportion of faith; | or ministry, in ministering; or he
8 who teaches, in teaching; | he who exhorts, in exhorting;
he who gives, in simplicity; he who presides, with carefulness;
he who shows mercy, with cheerfulness.
9 Let love be without pretense. Hate what is evil, hold to
10 what is good. Love one another with fraternal charity,
11 anticipating one another with honor. Be not slothful in
zeal; be fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, rejoicing in
12 hope. Be patient in tribulation, persevering in prayer.
13 Share the needs of the saints, practicing hospitality.
14 Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse.
15 Rejoice with those who rejoice; weep with those who
16 weep. | Be of one mind towards one another. Do not set
your mind on high things but condescend to the lowly. Be
not wise in your own conceits.

The forgoing passage follows immediately on the section (Rom. 12:1-5) which forms the epistle for the first Sunday after the Epiphany,[1] and the first verses (6-8) are a continuation of the point there discussed. St. Paul in verses 4 and 5 recalled to the Romans the doctrine of the mystic body, in which each member has his respective role to play. He urged each individual to be content with the position which Divine Providence has assigned to him. In the first part of this passage St. Paul goes into detail, specifying some of the functions which are assigned by the Holy Spirit to different individuals, and exhorting each to discharge his appointed duty with fidelity.

We have gifts differing according to the grace that has been given us. The gifts here referred to are the *charismata,* special gifts conferred primarily not for the sanctification of the recipient but for the good of the Church as a whole. They are rooted in and presuppose sanctifying grace, although not inseparable from it. The difference of these gifts arises, as St. Thomas remarks, not from a difference of merit in the recipients, but from the varying degrees of God's generosity towards different individuals in view primarily of the good of the Church. These *charismata* are distributed by the Holy Spirit as He wills (1 Cor. 12:11) and are as varied as the spiritual and physical needs of the Church's members.

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[1] This epistle was considered in the July, 1943, *Quarterly,* Vol. V, pp. 338-344.

Such as prophecy to be used according to the proportion of faith. St. Paul tells us that *he who prophecies speaks to men for edification, and encouragement, and consolation* (1 Cor. 14:3). The prophet then is not one whose utterances are confined to predictions of future events, although that is at times a part of his mission, but rather one who is prepared by the grace of God to give sermons and offer prayers of inspired eloquence designed to move the hearts of men to the practice of the Christian virtues.

This gift of prophecy is to be exercised *according to the proportion of faith.* The word in the Greek is *analogia,* which, according to Origen, St. Jerome and St. John Chrysostom, means *measure.* But measure can be taken in two senses: first the amount of inspiration conferred on the prophet, and second, the objective norm of revealed truth contained in the teaching of the Apostles. If the first is meant, then St. Paul is urging the prophet to confine his utterances to the inspiration that heaven has vouchsafed him, not to intermingle with his inspired message ideas of his own devising. This explanation fits well with the advice given above in verse 3: *Let no one rate himself more than he ought, but let him rate himself according to moderation, and according as God has appointed to each one the measure of faith.* If the second meaning of the measure of faith be accepted, then St. Paul's idea is that the prophet's utterances should be tested by comparison with the body of revealed truth taught by our Lord and the Apostles. This explanation also fits in with advice which the Apostle gives elsewhere. For example he tells the Thessalonians to test all things (1 Thes. 5:20), and he specifically says that in the Christian assemblies some are *to prophesy* while others are to act as *judges* (1 Cor. 14:29). It would seem that *the others* are not merely other prophets, but that the prerogative of judging was also exercised by those who had the gift of discernment of spirits (1 Cor. 12:10) and by the teachers. It would seem, too, that to discern the true from the false prophets there is need of some objective norm, which in this case would be the body of revealed truth. It is difficult to choose between these two opinions.[2] Prophecy and other *charismata* were not restricted to the infant Church, but have continued in the Church to the present time, although they were more dazzling and frequent in the beginning.

Or ministry, in ministering. Although the word here in the Greek is *diakonia,* the consensus of opinion is that it does not mean the specific office of deacons, whose original duty was principally to distribute alms, but any grade of ministry or service, some of which are specifically mentioned in the immediately following words. It is the *genus*—as St. John Chrysostom says, it is a general thing—of which they are the species. We know from St. Paul that there were varieties of ministries (1 Cor. 12:5), and the term covers all those spiritual and corporal works of mercy mentioned subsequently.

He who teaches, in teaching. The teacher is distinguished from the prophet in that he was not inspired, although he did have a special gift from God to enable him to present the doctrine of the Church in a clear and understandable manner. Apostles and prophets were teachers also, just as are bishops and priests today, but that does not exclude a lesser grade of teacher, such as the present day religious brother or sister, the evidence guild worker, and the lay catechist.

He who exhorts, in exhorting. The distinction between the teacher and the exhorter is, as St. Thomas puts it, the distinction between the speculative and the practical. The teacher presents the theory; the exhorter persuades one to put it in practice. This distinction is found even in St. Paul's writings (cf. 1 Tim. 6:2; Tit. 1:9), and there is no reason why the two gifts may not exist separately.

He who gives, in simplicity.[3] There is reference here not to the deacons who were elected and ordained primarily to distribute the funds of the Church to the poor (Acts 6:1ff.), but to the man of means who out of his own resources voluntarily succors the needy. This aid is to be given in *simplicity,* that is, out of a pure motive, not for vain glory, not in the hope of an earthly reward. Our Lord gave the same advice in regard to almsgiving when He said: *When thou givest an alms, do not sound the trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and streets, in order that they may be honored by men... But when thou givest an alms, do not let thy left hand know what thy right hand is doing, so that thy alms may be given in secret...* (Mt. 6:2-4).

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[2] For a further discussion of these two opinions cf. the commentaries of Father Lagrange and of Father Cornely on the Epistle to the Romans.

[3] St. John Chrysostom understands the Greek term here translated *simplicity* to mean *liberality, abundance, generosity,* a meaning which the word may have.

He who presides, with carefulness. Although this term is used by St. Paul of Church leaders and heads of families, we think it highly probable that, since this bit of advice is placed between works of charity, it designates him who presides over the collection and distribution of alms,—the official who today is called the diocesan director of charity, or the president of the St. Vincent de Paul Society or of the Ladies of Charity. His work is to be carried out with carefulness, that is, with zealous and energetic diligence.

He who shows mercy, with cheerfulness. St. Paul here has in mind those who visit the sick and the prisoners, or seek to comfort and aid widows and orphans or victims of any sort of misfortune. A certain serene gaiety is well calculated to cheer the afflicted and win their confidence. This gladness of soul was especially characteristic of the early Christians (cf. Acts 2:46; 5:41), and St. Paul not infrequently exhorts the faithful to rejoice (1 Thes. 5:16; Phil. 3:1; 4:4). In the immediate context he urges joy in hope, thus assigning the basic reason for the Christian's cheerful outlook on life, namely, that his thoughts are fixed on heavenly things. As Origen points out, he who exercises the various corporal and spiritual works of mercy here mentioned knows that these little services rendered to the neighbor will confer immense wealth and eternal life on him. St. John Chrysostom recalls that "whatever you do for a brother passes to the Lord, and He rewards you as if He personally had received the benefit." A Lapide reminds us that cheerfulness consists in three things: gaiety of mind, cheerfulness of countenance and affable speech. There is no room for a sour-visaged gloom in St. Paul's concept of Christian holiness.

Although all the foregoing ministrations may be called *charismata,* none of them except prophecy necessarily involves anything of the miraculous. They are, however, all gifts of God's grace, and point to a certain organization in the Church at a very early date. Each has his particular endowment from the Holy Spirit, and should recognize the will of God in it, be content with it, and not aspire to a higher or more brilliant function. *Seek not the things that are too high for thee,* says Ecclesiasticus (3:22), *and search not into things above thy ability.* Abiding by this wise direction of St. Paul and Ecclesiasticus, one will best serve the interests of the Church, and contribute most to the upbuilding of the mystic body of Christ.

The second part of this lesson deals with charity among the faithful.

Let love be without pretense. Hate what is evil, hold to what is good. This latter advice explains what St. Paul means by love without pretense. As Origen says: "All love that is not according to God is simulated, not genuine. Anyone who loves aught but what is pleasing to God, has a simulated, not a genuine love. True love has noting of adulation, nothing of artificial show." We cannot love God and not hate evil, even though it be in a dear friend or a parent. We cannot love God and not hold fast to good wherever it may be. Consequently, that love of the neighbor is vitiated by a vain pretense which refrains from warning the erring and striving to correct their evil habits. But if we hate the evil in our fellow man while loving his person and clinging to the good that is in him, then we love sincerely and without pretense, as St. Paul here advises.

Love one another with fraternal charity, anticipating one another with honor. The Christians' love for one another must be fraternal because they are all brothers in Christ, and because of this intimate spiritual relationship the love should be tender as is indicated by the Greek word which means a warm family affection.

We anticipate one another in honor when we seek to be the first to show marks of esteem and respect to others. St. John Chrysostom says: "Thus is love begotten and thus is it nourished. Nothing so surely makes friends as when we seek to win the neighbor by honoring him."

Be not slothful in zeal; be fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, rejoicing in hope. Sloth and zeal are mutually opposed and seem to be incompatible with each other. But it is possible that one's active and diligent solicitude for the service of the Lord and the neighbor may become more or less slack and languid. If this process continues unabated, zeal will finally be entirely replaced by sloth. Such, however, will never be the case if the spirit continue fervent and glowing, that is, energetic and vigorous like boiling water. The Greek word corresponding to *fervent* means literally *boiling*. This fervor, as St. Thomas remarks, comes from an abundance of heat. And so fervor of spirit is mentioned because from an abundance of divine love the whole man *fervet ad Deum*. *Spirit* is man's soul in as much as it is inhabited by the Holy Spirit and partakes of His ardor. The symbol of the third Person of the Blessed Trinity is fire. The compelling motive for this ardent zeal is that the Christian serves the Lord, the great, omnipotent, infinitely good and generous God, who rewards faithful service with the utmost lavishness. The assurance of the Lord's promise to reward us gives rise to hope, and that assured hope in turn is a source of serene joy. He rejoices in hope who looks not to visible but to invisible things, remarks Origen, and knows that the sufferings of the present times are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come (Rom. 8:18).

Be patient in tribulation, persevering in prayer. The service of the Lord often entails trials and tribulations because of our fallen nature and the world in which we work out our salvation. At such times an unfailing source of strength, patience and courage is to be found in prayer. And since the trials and difficulties are more or less constant, so our prayer should be unceasing, as both our Lord (Lk. 18:1) and St. Paul urge (1 Thes. 5:17). St. Thomas remarks: "By prayer zeal is stirred up within us, fervor is enkindled, we are incited to serve God, the joy of hope is increased within us, and we merit assistance in tribulation."

Share the needs of the saints, practicing hospitality. We share the needs of our fellow Christians when we associate ourselves with them in their indigence, and succor them with alms or hospitality. St. Paul uses a very forceful word which is literally translated: *pursuing* hospitality. This term Origen and St. John Chrysostom take to mean that we are not merely to receive those who seek hospitality, but we are to be on the lookout for those that need it, search them out lest they be forced to pass the night without shelter or bed. They cite the example of Lot (Gen. 19:1ff.) as one who *pursued* hospitality.

This virtue was very much esteemed by orientals and still is. It was beautifully exercised by the early Christians and was often urged on them by the Apostles (cf. 1 Peter 4:9; 1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:8; Heb. 13:1). The reason for it is our intimate union in the body of Christ.

St. Thomas remarks that when the Apostle urges charity and hospitality towards the saints, he is not to be understood as excluding the exercise of these virtues towards sinners, but in the sense that these are not to be aided to sin, and that charity to the saints is more useful not only because of the meritoriousness of the work but because of the prayers of those aided, offered for their benefactors.

Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse. This repeats the advice of our Lord (Mt. 5:44), and in almost the same words. The repetition is for the sake of emphasis, and the negative form may have been inspired, as Lagrange thinks, by the attitude of the Jews toward the followers of Jesus. They did not long delay to add to their official prayers a curse against the "Nazarenes."

Rejoice with those who rejoice; weep with those who weep. St. Paul would have the ideal Christian make his own not merely the needs of his brethren in Christ, but also their joys and their sorrows in a perfect union of sentiments. The same thought is expressed in 1 Cor. 12:26, where St. Paul treats at length of the mystic body of Christ: *If one member suffers anything, all the members suffer with it, or if one member glories, all the members rejoice with it.*

Be of one mind towards one another. This unanimity of sentiments, which St. Paul frequently recommends (cf. Phil. 2:2; 1 Cor. 1:10; 1 Cor. 13:11), is a basic requisite for charity. This unity is not merely unity of faith, but of the whole outlook on life, of the scale of values, of ambitions,—in a word everything that makes up the practical Christian life. This unity is also a consequence of St. Paul's doctrine of the mystic body. Since all Christians are one in Christ Jesus, all should have the mind of Christ, and having this, they cannot but be of one mind.

Do not set your mind on high things, but condescend to the lowly. The great impediment to charity towards our fellow men is pride, which leads a man to set his heart on his own excellence and the things that promote it. This selfish desire leads men to seek high things in the social and economic order—wealth, position, rich and influential friends according to worldly standards—

and to nurture bitter rivalry towards those who may compete with them for the world's gifts. This is destructive of charity and concord. *Among the proud there are always contentions,* says the wise man (Prov. 13:10). On the contrary the genuine Christian will love the lowly, as Origen says, and bring himself down to the lowly. Thus he will accustom himself to imitate Him *who though he was by nature God, did not consider being equal to God a thing to be clung to, but emptied himself.* And St. John Chrysostom comments: "Bow down to their lowly conditions; ride or walk with them; be not humble in mind only, but help them and stretch out thy hand to them."

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OBSCURITIES IN THE LATIN PSALTER

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XX

125. Psalm 126:4b. (Tuesday, at Vespers.)

Sicut sagittae in manu potentis: ita *filii excussorum.*

A Hebrew verb meaning "shake out" or "off," already met with in *excussus sum sicut locustae* (Ps. 108:23), contains the same radicals as a noun for "boy" or "youth," which is common to Semitic speech in general, but for which no verbal root is known in biblical Hebrew. This in turn expresses the idea of "youth, tenderness of age" by means of a plural formation, as often in universal ideas. In this guise, however, it happens to be identical in form with a passive participle of the aforesaid verb, for which it was incorrectly read by LXX. Though V felt obliged to follow, Jerome's version corrects both to *ita filii juventutis.* Apparently this is equivalent to "children of one's own youth" or "early vigor," and not a poetic circumlocution for "young children." Thus we should understand,

Like arrows in the hand of a warrior,
so are *the sons of one's youth.*

126. Psalm 126:5b. (Tuesday, at Vespers.)

Non confundetur cum loquetur inimicis suis in porta.

While the words present no grammatical difficulty, their peculiar force may need a word of explanation. As contrasted with closely huddled dwellings and narrow passageways, the vacant space required just inside the gate of a town offered a convenient place for gatherings of some size, while the gate's very function would favor publicity. Hence, "the gates" were the conventional scene of ordinary actions at law (compare the description in Ruth 4). In time of war, again, terms of peace would be most conveniently discussed at the city gate by its defenders. In either case a citizen supported by a goodly group of sturdy sons might feel more security against either an unjust verdict or a humiliating capitulation. Accordingly,

He will not be chagrined when he treats with his enemies at the gate.

127. Psalm 128:3. (Wednesday, at Vespers.)

Supra dorsum meum fabricaverunt peccatores: prolongaverunt iniquitatem suam.

In most respects a Hebrew text like our own seems to have been the source of this, but the variations differ in occasion. The original of *dorsum* at least is secure; as applied to the human figure it may be either "neck" or "back," of which the latter offers wider space for the action described. *Fabricaverunt* and *peccatores,* however, are cognates in MT, the second being the active participle of the first. If this is original, the poet employed a metaphor so rugged that the taste of the Greek translators—or perhaps their patriotic sense of dignity—may have recoiled from it. The original of *fabricaverunt* means, radically, "cut in"; by consequence, "plow" or "engrave," or, finally, "devise," as if operating beneath the surface, and in this latter sense usually of sinister designs. LXX saw in "the plowers plowed" a suggestion of hostile machination, and wrote "the sinners made a scheme" or "pattern." Jerome's version reclaims the metaphor by recurring to the simplest force of the verb: *supra cervicem meam arabant arantes.* Preferring *dorsum* to *cervicem,* as widening the field of action, we have the reading of MT, "The plowers plowed upon my back." Possibly a picture of the cruel furrows of the lash.

The second member is more difficult. *Prolongaverunt* stands in all sources; but *iniquitatem* happens to represent a very obscure Hebrew word. Modern conjecture as to its meaning rests chiefly on this passage, so that there is little room for checking. It is supposed to be derived from a root meaning "to be busy about," and cognate with another noun which clearly means "occupation" or "task"; but the form presents such difficulty that the Massoretes note a *q^{e}rê,* or traditional departure from the text in public reading. Attempts to account for ἀνομίαν in LXX (V *iniquitatem*) are not very convincing. Modern lexicographers, in keeping with the building of the form, understand "places for" one's task, hence, in the present connection, "plowing grounds" or "fields." But this very structure is appropriate not only to the place of an action, and to its instrument or means, but to the action itself regarded as an object; and "plowing" or "furrow" seems to commend itself to Jerome: *prolongaverunt* *sulcum suum.* This is as good an inference as any, and we may probably follow the sense,

The plowers plowed upon my back,
they drew their furrows long.

128. Psalm 128:6a. (Wednesday, at Vespers.)

Fiant sicut *foenum tectorum:* quod priusquam
evellatur, exaruit.

A level roof might include in its thatching such a variety of material that seeds carried thither by the wind or by birds could find a medium in which to sprout when moistened by "the later rain" of early spring. The produce of such undesigned roof-gardens, besides being of no value to man or beast, "having no depth of earth," could not long survive the hot sun that ensued between Passover and Pentecost; it would not even need to be weeded out, and might be left to die. Such, prays the poet, be the fate of the wicked:

Let them be like *roof grass,*
which withers before it is pulled.

129. Psalm 130:2. (Wednesday, at Vespers.)

Si non humiliter sentiebam: sed exaltavi animam meam: sicut ablactatus est super matre sua, ita retributio in anima mea.

Divergence, as usual, begins with LXX, but the latter must have used a source practically identical in its consonants with MT, from which every main variation is easy to explain. But a variety of deflections, each rather slight in itself, has confused a simple though concise bit of Hebrew. In the first two members, to begin with, *si non* is simply the affirmative form of solemn avowal—a protasis, amounting to an oath, which leaves the apodosis to imagination. It is equivalent to "surely" or "indeed." We have, therefore, no apodosis or independent affirmation to expect. Secondly, *animam meam* is the common object of both the preceding verbs, the first of which in Hebrew is "I have composed" or "smoothed" (radically "leveled"), the second, "I have hushed" or "reduced to silence." LXX understood the first as intransitive, rendering by a single word which V could only express by *humiliter sentiebam,* and leaving only the second verb to govern *animam.* This dissolved the terse sentence "I have composed and hushed my soul." LXX next misread the second verb itself by mistaking *daleth* for *resh,* which transformed "hushed" into "lifted up." Such an antithesis led them to understand the Hebrew conjunction as "but" instead of "and," and to write "If I have not been lowly-minded, but have lifted up my spirit." Finally, taking *si non* as really conditional, LXX expected the last clause of the verse to supply an apodosis.

However, the third and fourth members are sufficient unto themselves, like the first and second. The two comprise a simile; to take the third as part of a prior condition was to leave the fourth without a term of comparison. In MT the likeness runs, "As a weaned child upon its mother, so a weaned child upon me is my soul" (to preserve the Hebrew order). The state of one's "soul" or disposition "upon" one is quite an idiomatic form of expression; see, e.g., Ps. 41:12; 42:5 (where V paraphrases by *conturbas me*). The soul is like a weaned child inasmuch as it has been taught not to clamor for the breast, but to rest confidently on the mother's provision.

Here LXX, still having an unfulfilled condition in mind, turns 2d into *ita retributio in anima mea.* The Hebrew "upon me," without vowels, could be read as simply "upon" in a poetic form, equivalent to "in." Also the original of "weaned child" in this second instance was easily read as a cognate word meaning "recompense" (from the same radical notion of "satisfying" or "fulfilling" a norm that engenders "to wean" itself). For V's *in* the Greek rather rigidly retains ἐπὶ in *d* as well as *c*: "so (may there be) recompense upon my soul."

However, Jerome attests MT in substance: *Si non proposui, et silere feci animam meam: sicut ablactatus est super matrem suam, ita ablectetur super me anima mea*—although, as is evident, he too takes the final clause as the apodosis to *si non,* etc. Boylan and Zorell sustain MT, and Bird considers it the more probable reading, though hardly certain. *Anima,* moreover, is in the conventional position of the subject; as for *in* (representing Hebrew "upon"), MT points it as "upon me," without consonant variation. The correct solution, therefore, seems to give us

Verily I have composed
and hushed my soul;
as a weaned child rests on its mother,
such a weaned child is my soul upon me.

130. Psalm 138:6. (Friday, at Vespers.)

Mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me: confortata est, et non potero ad eam.

Yahweh's intimate and perfect comprehension of exterior and interior, new and old, which the psalmist has just finished describing, evokes from him a couplet of awestruck praise. In MT it is terse to the point of brevity. However, the predicate adjective "wonderful" is read by LXX as a passive verb, which can only be latinized as *mirabilis facta est. Tua* is justifiably supplied by LXX-V. *Ex me,* again due to LXX, renders too verbally the Hebrew comparative phrase "beyond" or "more than me," too wonderful for me.

The next Hebrew verb, a passive, "set on high," is conventionally applied to the selection of impregnable sites for towns. LXX, giving it this usual meaning, leads V into *confortata est,* whereas the primary meaning *exaltata est* would have been more appropriate. *Non potero ad eam* is painfully verbal; the Hebrew "to be able" often lacks a complementary infinitive, here suggested by *ad,* as though the verb were expressive enough without it. The finite form itself uses the imperfect for the present, as often in Hebrew. Near to the sense would be the British colloquialism, "I'm not up to it"—not equal to its standard of excellence, or to the effort it demands.

Jerome approaches MT, with some drawback in handling the comparatives: *Mirabilior est scientia a me, excelsior est, non potero ad eam.* We may render it thus:

This knowledge is too wonderful for me,
it is sublime; it is beyond my power!

131. Psalm 138:11. (Friday, at Vespers.)

Et dixi: Forsitan tenebrae conculcabunt me: et nox illuminatio mea in deliciis meis.

The consonants of MT were clearly original here, and most of its vowels evident. *Conculcabunt* is the Hebrew verb found twice in Gen. 3:15 (*conteret, insidiaberis*) and once in Job 9:7 (*conteret*) besides here. Its primary meaning is supposed to be "crush" or "bruise." No emendation is really needed to reconcile LXX-V's "tread down" with Jerome's *operient* in the same original, since to "tread down" seeds (a familiar application of the Greek verb) is to "cover" them with earth. Although *et,* too, is original, it introduces a virtual condition; the psalmist supposes one more means of trying to escape the divine omnipresence: "And should I say, 'Doubtless darkness will cover me.' "

In the second member, *mea* is present in no other source, and clearly superfluous. *Illuminatio* (so too LXX) is rather simply *lux.* The final Hebrew form was read by LXX for the phrase *in deliciis meis,* excusably enough in the absence of vowels. MT, in supplying them, takes the initial *in* as part of the stem, and gives us "about me," accepted by Aquila, Symmachus, Jerome and moderns generally.

But where does the clause of supposition end, and that of consequence begin? Jerome finds both in 11: *Si dixero, forte tenebrae operient me: nox quoque lux erit circa me;* and makes 12 continue with *Nec tenebrae habent,* etc., as part of the same apodosis. The King James Version and that of the Anglican Prayer Book (one of the best in English) agree. The sense would then be, "And should I say, 'Doubtless darkness will cover me': then night too would be light about me."

On the other hand, the Revised Version, Bird, Boylan, Zorell and others leave the apodosis to begin with 12, taking 11b as part of the condition supposed, though no two of them render it quite alike. The general style of the Hebrew supports this division, since the same conditional relation exists between 9 and 10, and the latter begins with the same conjunction as 12: "even there—even darkness." There remains in 11b some difference of opinion about "night" and "light"—which is subject and which predicate. Bird's treatment of "light" as a second object (after "me") of "obliterate" seems to cramp the Hebrew. It seems probable that "night" is subject—the copula, here in future time, to be supplied as usual—and "light" suggestive of "instead of light," or "such light as I have." We should then understand

11 *And should I say, "Doubtless darkness will cover me,*
and night shall be the light about me,"

12 Even darkness is not too dark for thee. . . .

Woodstock College
Woodstock, Maryland

BIBLICAL NEWS

A meeting of the Board of Editors and Revisors of both the New and Old Testaments was held at St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, on August 25 and 26. About thirty-five members were in attendance to enjoy the superb hospitality of Sister Madeleva, President of the College, and the Sisters of the Holy Cross at this deservedly famed institution of higher learning. On the evening of the first day the attending members visited Notre Dame University to pay their compliments to President and Faculty on the occasion of the University's centenary. Honoring the meeting by their presence were Archbishop McNicholas of Cincinnati and Bishop O'Hara of Kansas City, both members of the Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine.

In an address Archbishop McNicholas urged the Revisors and Editors not to sacrifice excellence to haste, but to devote such time and care to the preparation of the new text as should be necessary to insure a thoroughly scholarly work both from the standpoint of accuracy of rendering and felicity of expression. Further details of the meeting and some of the papers read will probably appear in a subsequent issue of the *Quarterly*.

In attendance at the meeting at St. Mary's College, Indiana, was Sir John Craig of Tulsa, Oklahoma, who has been placed in charge of the distribution of the de luxe edition of the Confraternity New Testament. He had on display a copy of the de luxe edition and gave a detailed explanation of its production and the materials used in it. It is universally acclaimed by experts as the very finest specimen of bookmaking ever produced in the United States or England. Only one thousand copies were made; they are not for sale. Copies are given to those who contribute one hundred dollars to a fund to provide the members of our armed forces with New Testaments and other Catholic reading.

The spring 1943 issue of the *St. Meinrad Historical Essays* was entirely devoted to articles on the Encylical *Providentissimus Deus*. The editing of this volume was under the direction of the Rev. Cyril Gaul, O.S.B.

The Very Rev. Donat Poulet, O.M.I., President of the Association, has reissued in a very attractive booklet his translation of the *Providentissimus Deus*, which first appeared serially in the *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*. Copious footnotes appended by the learned author clarify and amplify the Encyclical. There are two interesting appendices, the first containing the letter of adherence of the President and Faculty of the University of Ottawa, and the second a similar letter signed by the President and Faculty of the Catholic University of America at Washington. Price 50¢.

According to recent reports nearly eighteen thousand copies of the Association's Commentary on the New Testament have been sold, about twelve thousand up to January 1, 1943 and about six thousand between January and July 1, 1943. It is expected that within the next two or three months the original edition of twenty thousand copies will be sold out. Already a committee is at work preparing a second revised edition, which, it is hoped, will be off the press before winter.

Announcement has just been made of the publication of the third volume of Dr. Steinmueller's series of Introductions. The forthcoming volume is devoted to the books of the New Testament.

On Sunday, November 21, 1943, MUTUAL'S RADIO CHAPEL will carry a program commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*. The speaker will be the Rev. G. H. Guyot, C.M., professor of Sacred Scripture at Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, Mo. Music will be furnished by the excellent Seminary Choir under the direction of the Rev. Clarence Corcoran, C.M. The time of the program will be from 11:30 to 12:00 noon Eastern War Time.

In Canada the esteemed President of the Catholic Biblical Association, the Very Rev. Donat Poulet, O.M.I., will deliver an address over the TRANS-CANADA network, and four subsequent addresses by the Rev. John G. Hanley and other members of the Association in Canada will be given in commemoration of the Encyclical's fiftieth anniversary. This series of radio broadcasts commences on Sunday, November 7.

The General-Secretary wishes to inform the readers of the *Quarterly* that copies of the Confraternity New Testament can be supplied to them from the central office at advantageous prices. Address THE CATHOLIC BIBLICAL ASSOCIATION, Catholic University, Washington, 17, D. C.

A Reuter's dispatch carried by the secular press on July 18 announces the preparation of the first printed edition of the Old Testament in Hebrew ever to be printed in the land of the Bible. It is being edited under the patronage of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus near Jerusalem.

Edwards Brothers, Inc. of Ann Arbor, Michigan, are offering for sale at $3.50 *A Catalog of Bible Entries Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards, Issued to July 31, 1942*. This publication is under the auspices of a committee of the Association of Research Libraries. It is recommended to Bible scholars, reference libraries and Bible collectors.

CORRESPONDENCE

This department has been inaugurated to afford our readers an opportunity to express their views on scriptural topics, whether they have been discussed in the Quarterly or not. Publication of these views does not imply that they are endorsed by the editors; they remain the private views of the writers, who alone are to be held accountable for them. Queries of sufficient interest and importance will also be answered.

Editor:

I should like to call your attention to a misunderstanding incorporated in Father Hartdegen's otherwise fine article, "The Influence of Providentissimus Deus." On pp. 150-151 he writes:

> "Though the Biblical Commission forbade this theory to be taught (i.e., the distinction between primary and secondary elements: parentheses mine) it was revived by H. Junker, in 1932, but without winning any new adherents, because it already stood condemned."

In this statement he refers to Junker's *Biblische Urgeschichte* and to the decision of the Biblical Commission of June 30, 1909, on the historical character of the first three chapters of Genesis.

Quite different from Father Hartdegen's judgment of this work is that of Père Lagrange, who sees in it "a loyal effort, inspired by a faith obedient to the direction of the Church."[1] In fact, none of the three reviews accessible to me,[2] found in it an attempted revival of a theory already condemned by the Church's magisterium. On the contrary, the reviewers are unstinted in their praise.

On p. 150 of his article Father Hartdegen sacrifices strict accuracy for brevity when he groups together, as condemned by the Church, the "various theories such as that of 'religious and profane elements,' 'historical appearances,' 'literary forms,' and 'implicit citations,'" which Catholic authors devised "to reconcile their liberty with the restrictions of the encyclical." If "these systems" are "at variance with the teaching of the Church," then it is quite true that Junker attempts to revive a condemned theory. But he is in the good company of any number of reputable Catholic scholars: all those who emphasize the importance of "literary forms" in interpreting a given book of the Bible; all those who hold that the Biblical Commission admits the *possibility* of "tacit citations" and of "narratives that have the appearance of history," even though it invites the utmost reserve in the application of these principles.

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[1] "Quelque jugement qu'on en porte, on devra y reconnaître, comme nous le disions au début, un essai loyal, inspiré par une foi soumise à la direction de l'Église." *Revue Biblique*, XLI (1932), p. 462.

[2] J. Göttsberger, *Theologische Revue*, XXXI (1932), pp. 225-228; N. Peters, *Theologie und Glaube*, XXIV (1932), p. 634; M. J. Lagrange, *loc. cit.*, pp. 460-462.

Junker is well aware of the recent pronouncements of the Holy See on biblical questions and makes an honest effort to abide by them. He expressly repudiates the distinction of religious and profane elements (p. 11) on the authority of *Providentissimus.* But he defends the principles of "literary form," and the possibility of "tacit citations" and "narratives that have only the appearance" of history (pp. 18-21). In the application of these principles to Gen. cc. 1-11 he doubtless extends the exegete's liberty beyond the limits admitted by most Catholic scholars. Not everyone would admit that his reasons for departing from the literal, historical sense are sufficiently cogent. He may err, therefore, in applying the principles, but not in the principles themselves. And hence it is unfair to accuse him of the attempted revival of an already condemned theory. Far more accurate is the judgment on Junker's work given by Bea, who distinguishes between the things in it that we cannot approve and the many things it contains which throw light on the problems of Genesis.[3]

Edward F. Siegman, C.PP.S.

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[3] ... "in quo, etsi aliqua minus probari possunt, multa afferuntur quae apta sunt quibus problemata illius Geneseos exordii illustrentur." *Biblica,* XVI (1935), p. 453.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

NEW TESTAMENT

REV. J. J. COLLINS, S.J., S.S.L.

REV. ANTHONY COTTER, S.J., S.T.D.

Biblical Archaeologist, 6, 1943. C. C. McCown, "The Earliest Christian Books" (21-31). The evidence indicates that these were leaf books or codices. "Out of over fifty discovered papyrus fragments bearing portions of the New Testament, almost all are written in codices." This form would explain the loss of the ending of Mark. Moreover Paul's letters could be put in one volume and the whole New Testament in three.

M. Burrows, "Significant Recent Finds of Coins in Palestine" (37-9). The Jews undoubtedly had to use foreign coins in trade as is shown by finds "in which Jewish coins from the very years of the fanatical rebellion against the hated power of Rome are combined with coins bearing the head of the god of Tyre."

Bibliotheca Sacra, 100, 1943. J. F. Walvoord, "Thirty-three Words for Sin in the New Testament" (164-76). The purpose of the article is to establish "distinctions and conclusions which are fundamental to the study of Hamartiology and which bear an important relation to the doctrine of salvation."

J. H. Bennetch, "The Advantage of Knowing the Biblical Languages" (177-87). Shows how *Bibliotheca Sacra* from the earliest times upheld their importance.

J. F. Walvoord, "Thirty-three Words for Sin in the New Testament (Continued)" (244-55).

J. H. Bennetch, "Exegetical Studies in 1 Peter" (263-72). Continued from the Oct.-Dec. Number 1942.

R. H. Seume, "Divine Propitiation" (289-300). Concluded from the Oct.-Dec. Number, 1942. A scriptural theological study.

C. F. Lincoln, "The Biblical Covenants" (309-23). Explains the biblical doctrine of the covenants.

Clergy Review, 23, 1943. H. Pope, "Misprints or Heresies" (114-20). Supplements a previous statement [19, 1940, p. 112] on omissions of clauses in Rheims-Douay, by showing Protestant Bibles "were guilty of far graver and far more numerous errors than any Catholic publisher."

J. M. T. Barton, "Holy Scripture. Notes on Recent Work" (126-9). Mentions Msgr. Knox's translation of the NT now in press, and discusses Fr. Hartdegen's *Chronological Harmony of the Gospels* and Fr. Steinmueller's second volume of *A Companion to Scripture Study.*

Romanus Rios, O.S.B. "The Great Antiphon of the Triduum Domini" (155-62). "Modern exegetes are . . . only following in the footsteps of the earliest and most distinguished commentators of St. Paul in explaining the Name above every name to mean simply Yahweh."

J. M. T. Barton, "The Interpretation of John I, 13" (222-4). Neither the text nor arguments prove that the verse speaks of the Virginal Conception of our Lord.

Dom A. Graham, O.S.B., "What Do We Preach?" (337-45). Urges the preaching of the New Testament. By "preaching Christ, I mean simply taking the various incidents and the great sayings as they occur in the New Testament and showing how our Lord lives in them."

A. G. M. "The Kinsfolk of Christ" (351-6). Attempts a solution based upon the evidence of the NT.

E. F. Sutcliffe, S.J. "The Golden Jubilee of PROVIDENTISSIMUS DEUS" (356-66). Sets forth the historical background of the encyclical and presents "the many activities in the field of Bible study which may be justly considered its fruit."

Ecclesiastical Review, 108, 1943. F. X. Pierce, S.J. "Biblical Notes from Non-Catholic Periodicals" (145-52). Presents and criticizes some articles on the OT and NT.

R. F. Stoll, "The First Christian Pentecost" (337-47). A commentary on Acts 2. The gift of tongues is the same in Acts 2:10,46; 19:6 and 1 Cor. 14.

J. Grigassy, "Doxology added to the Our Father in Greek Rite" (388). Greek Uniates are bound to adhere to the lawful addition of the Our Father not only in the vernacular but also in its translations.

M. Metlen, "The Vulgate Gospels as a Translation" (101-15). The first of a series of articles. Discusses the phrases in which the rendition of the Greek is too literal.

Expository Times, 54, 1943. B. G. Collins, "The Hidden Years" (109-12). "The great universal features of the Ministry were present from the beginning, but nothing but perplexity can come of contemplating those that belong to the Ministry alone and antedating them."

R. O. P. Taylor, "The Ministry of Mark" (136-8). John Mark, the minister of Paul, was probably like the synagogue-minister and the Ministers of the Word mentioned in St. Luke's prologue, the custodian of the accredited history. Thus the value of the oral tradition in the gospels is enhanced.

K. F. Evans-Prosser, "On the supposed early death of John the Apostle" (138). Two stories recounted by Clement of Alexandria and one by Irenaeus go counter to the supposition that John was beheaded at the same time as his brother James.

T. E. Bleiben, "The Synoptists' Interpretation of the Death of Christ" (145-9). "There is no one interpretation of the death of Christ in the New Testament, or even in the Synoptic Gospels." He considers from form critical standpoints why the evangelists included parts of the tradition into their narrative. He disagrees with Taylor, *Jesus and His Sacrifice,* for he says Taylor comes to the same conclusion from opposite principles.

W. Scott, "Hosanna" (167). Disagrees with E. Bishop's proposal for *hosnenu* as the root, and thinks it better to retain the familiar interpretation of Hoshianna.

C. S. Petri, "The Proto-Luke Hypothesis" (172-7). Presents "some of the difficulties in the way of assenting to 'Proto-Luke' particularly in the Galilean section of the Gospel."

W. J. Grant, "Citizenship and Civil Obedience" (180-1). "Of the modern state 'which declares its own authority to be the source of all authority' we can only conceive that Paul would say that it is a perversion with no legitimate claim to our obedience."

N. V. Hope, "The Christian Assurance of Immortality" (190-2). The argument of our Lord in Mk. 12:18-27 is that God "is a God of individual persons, with whom He enters into fellowship . . . [which] He will not allow death to interrupt."

H. V. Martin, "Baptism for the Dead" (192-3). The "main difficulty of our understanding the passage is that we generally conceive baptism as connected primarily with entrance into the Christian Church, whereas in apostolic days the reference was primarily to entrance into the Kingdom of God, in the Resurrection age." The husband was one flesh with his wife and the family was conceived as a unity, therefore the husband could be baptized for the wife, and parents for dead children.

J. P. Wilson, "In the Text of 1 Peter II. 17 is *pantas timesate* a primitive error for *panta poesate?*" (193-4). Suggests the reading "Do all things as free men."

V. Taylor, "The Proto-Luke Hypothesis: A Rejoinder" (219-22). Replies to Petrie's article (172-7), and defends the Proto-Luke hypothesis.

V. Taylor, "The Passion Sayings" (249-50). Replies to Bleiben's criticism of him (145-9). Insists that despite variations in the Gospels there are deep-seated agreements.

R. E. Ker, "Acts II, 1-13" (250). Suggests the possibility of a gloss which would remove the speaking in new tongues.

A. B. Johnston, "This is My Body" (250-1). "The Early Church was too literal-minded in its interpretation of Christ's words, as was shown by the pagan accusation of cannibalism. In a figure we eat the body of Christ . . ."

G. E. Phillips, "Cults of To-day. III Adventism False and True" 257-61). Suggests a hopeful attitude of expectant prayer and following the lead of the Lord. "That seems to be the true Advent teaching for to-day."

Harvard Theological Review, 36, 1943. C. C. Torrey, "The Name 'Iscariot'" (51-62). He thinks this came from the Aramaic *sheqer* falsehood. Judas was called by those who knew of his betrayal—*Yehuda sqarya*, "Judah the false!" Later a prosthetic aleph was added and a more distinct initial syllable, thus becoming *isqarya*. The ending *-otes* was then natural in the Greek.

Hibbert Journal, 41, 1943. H. S. Shelton, "The Authorship and Date of the Gospels Reconsidered" (167-71). Previous to Irenaeus there is no clear indication of the authorship, or even of the existence of the canonical four gospels. At first the churches had written records of the life and teaching of Jesus which were known collectively as the Gospel. From these various versions later emerged the four canonical gospels not very early in the second century.

Homiletic and Pastoral Review, 43, 1943. E. Graf, O.S.B., "The Transfiguration (August 6)" (984-9). An exegetical and liturgical exposition of the Gospel and office.

Irish Ecclesiastical Record, 61, 1943. J. Hackett, "Mystic Re-birth—St. Paul and Orphism" (232-45). We "must reject the claim that his pagan environment was partly responsible for the formulation of his teaching on Baptism." "The result of closer scrutiny of certain apparent analogies in paganism is . . . the conviction of their remoteness, and very often of their deeper antithesis to the Pauline idea of Christian regeneration."

Journal of Biblical Literature, 52, 1943. M. E. Andrews, "The Historical Gospel" (45-57). Presents F. C. Baur's arguments for Matthew as the most historical Gospel. While Baur's conclusion is incorrect, he materially advanced scholarship by its presentation.

H. Hirschberg, "Allusions to the Apostle Paul in the Talmud" (73-87). The Minim were Paul's adherents and Paul's conception of Christionity gained entrance into Jewish circles by a propaganda basically the same as that of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 2, 1943. S. I. Feigin, "The Original Language of the Gospels" (187-97). "The considerations here advanced weaken considerably the certainty of Professor Goodspeed's thesis that the whole New Testament was composed in Greek."

Journal of Religion, 23, 1943. C. C. Richardson, "Love: Greek and Christian" (173-85). Treats *agape* in the NT and the relation of *eros* to *agape*.

Journal of Theological Studies, 44, 1943. H. J. Carpenter, "Creeds and Baptismal Rites in the First Four Centuries" (1-11). At some time in the third century "there arose the practice of instructing the candidate verbally in a confession of faith which he was required to repeat exactly as a condition of baptism."

G. D. Kilpatrick, "Western Text and Original Text in the Gospels and Acts" (24-36). Although "the Alexandrian text and especially B are our best authorities, yet all the early types and witnesses contribute something of value... A modern reconstruction of the text will differ much from D, but it will also differ not a little from B."

J. K. Mozley, "The Bible Today" (37-40). Discusses the subject in connection with H. H. Rowley's, *The Relevance of the Bible.* "Dr. Rowley rightly rejects the modification of the old phraseology that the Bible is the word of God into the affirmation that the Bible contains the word of God. It is one word of God that is unveiled in the manifold diversity of the biblical literature."

W. L. Lorimer, "Theodore of Mopsuestia in Ep. i ad Tim., II, p. 123, 11 Sw" (58-9). "Obviously Theodore wrote, and the translator read, *mestai,* not *megistai.*"

Jewish Quarterly Review, 32, 1943. M. S. Enslin, "Who Crucified Jesus?" (491-5). A review of Zeitlin's book of that name. Professor Zeitlin "has left untouched the central problem: to what extent are we justified in assuming that the Mishna tract *Sanhedrin* gives a reliable picture of the make-up, organization, authority, and procedure of the Sanhedrin during the days of its actual authority?"

S. Zeitlin, "Erroneous Statements on Paul in Doctor Klausner's Book" (117-21). The "entire theory of Dr. Klausner that Paul was a disciple of Gamaliel and was referred to in the Talmud as 'that disciple' is based on an inexcusable misreading of a plain talmudic text." This "book of Dr. Klausner and his previous book on Jesus . . . present false interpretations of the rabbinic literature in relation to Jesus and Paul."

Month, 179, 1943. W. E. Orchard, "The American Revised New Testament" (97-106). We "have in this version a careful and competent translation."

Revue d'Université d'Ottawa, 13, 1943. D. Poulet, O.M.I., "Providentissimus Deus" (179-94). Gives the text which appeared in *L'Univers,* adds headings and valuable notes. This is the first part of the encyclical.

Weston College
Weston, Mass.

BOOK REVIEWS

EVERT J. BLEKKINK, *The Fatherhood of God.* Considered from Six Inter-related Standpoints (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1942). Pp. 120. $1.00.

This readable book is less Protestant in content than the title implies. The Epistle to the Hebrews is not attributed to St. Paul; the virgin-birth is "acceptable as any other" incarnation doctrine; the salvation of infants is left a mooted question; the problem of evil is not satisfactorily answered. Otherwise the teaching is not wrong although superficial in regard to the tracts *de Deo Uno et Trino.*

The mercy of God in both Old and New Testament, prayer, grace, evolution, receive excellent treatment with scriptural texts and poetry to substantiate the doctrinal and devotional handling of these topics. Over 250 Scripture passages are used including the repetition of some texts three or four times; lack of exact Scripture references indicates the nature of the work, pious and popular.

The book is recommended for refreshing some aspects of biblical theology and for illustrating the value of Scripture in didactic sermons and doctrinal essays. CLAUDE P. ZENS

SIMON-PRADO, *Praelectionum Biblicarum Compendium,* I (Madrid: Edit. El Perpetuo Socorro, and Turin: Casa Editrice Marietti, 1943). Pp. xvi, 272; plates 8. 16 Pesetas.

This is "Editio Quarta Retractata" of the well known series of text books inaugurated some years ago by the Redemptorist, Father Simon, and continued and completed after his death by his confrere, Father Prado. The title has been changed from "Praelectiones Biblicae ad Usum Scholarum" to "Praelectionum Biblicarum Compendium." This series of excellent text books is too well known to need any description here. Suffice it to say that in the opinion of the reviewer it is the best text book on the market from the standpoint of completeness, clearness and orderly arrangement. It is copiously documented.

The first volume is the "Propaedeutica," dealing with questions of General Introduction. The word "compendium" added to the original title might lead one to expect that the earlier editions have been greatly reduced in size and content. The first edition of the "Propaedeutica" had xvi, 415 pages and 15 plates. The present fourth edition has xvi, 272 pages and 8 plates. This reduction in the number of pages is effected by the slight abbreviation of many paragraphs, and the use of smaller type in paragraphs which contain matter of subordinate importance. The smaller type is, however, easily legible. In spite of the abbreviations the text remains substantially the same, so that if some of the students in a class had the old edition and some this latest, no great confusion would result.

We think Father Prado did well in omitting the pictures of the Schick models of the various temples at Jerusalem. Also omitted are the two indices, Index Geographicus and Index Personarum. Only the Index Rerum Alphabeticus remains. The Index Figurarum is augmented by the addition of the altar of holocausts from Doura-Europos and of an altar with horns from Megiddo. The ground-plan diagrams of Solomon's and Herod's temple are improved, and an effort has been made to bring the Bibliography up to date. There are several omissions which are probably due to lack of communications brought on by the war. Dr. Steinmueller's General Introduction is not mentioned; neither are the Spencer New Testament, nor the Confraternity New Testament. *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* is, however, listed among recently established biblical periodicals.

JOSEPH L. LILLY, C.M.

STRAUBINGER, MONS. PROFESSOR DOCTOR J., *Antiguo Testamento,* Tomo I (Imprenta y Libreria "Guadalupe," Mansilla 3865, Buenos Aires, Argentina). $5.00 (Argentine).

This is the first of a three volume translation of the Old Testament from the Vulgate into Castilian, containing the books from Genesis to 4 Kings inclusive. The second volume, containing from 1 Paralipomenon to Psalms inclusive, and the third, containing the books from Proverbs to II Machabees inclusive, are in preparation. There is also in preparation a special edition of the Psalms alone in both the Spanish and the Latin texts.

Argentina may well be proud of Dr. Straubinger's splendid contribution to biblical knowledge in his new translation of the Vulgate into Castilian. The learned translator has availed himself of all the resources of archeology and textual criticism to give the Spanish speaking world an accurate rendition, equipped with excellent footnotes as an aid to the correct understanding of the word of God. These notes supply competent historical, geographical, linguistic and doctrinal data as well as the noteworthy variants between the Vulgate and the Hebrew text. The corrections of the Vulgate text so far made by the Benedictine Commission are utilized as also the archeological discoveries recently made at Lachis, Jericho, etc. This version, in a handy size and with excellent typographical arrangement, deserves a warm welcome and a wide diffusion among the thousands of Spanish speaking Americans in the southwest and west of the United States.

JOSEPH L. LILLY, C.M.

DAVID JACOBSON, *The Social Background of the Old Testament* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1942). Pp. xi, 327.

The object of this book is to investigate the origin and development of certain important sociological institutions found in the Old Testament and among Semitic peoples of ancient and modern times. The author is thoroughly familiar with the literature on the subject as is evident from his numerous footnotes and his wide and well-chosen bibliography. He sifts the evidence with scientific honesty and acumen and endeavors to arrive at satisfactory explanations. Many of these are merely hypothetical on account of the obscurity of the subject. Some of his conclusions will be found to be unacceptable, but this due, partly to over-subtle analysis, partly to preconceived ideas, and partly to an unfortunate desire to fit all the facts into the same pattern. The scriptural scholar, who must occasionally make excursions into the fields of anthropology and ethnology, will find the material valuable and not a few of the deductions will meet with his approval.

In the first chapter the author thoroughly refutes the theory that the matrilinear system is the basis of the social structure of the Old Testament. His remarks on an alleged primitive promiscuity and polyandry are especially noteworthy. The second chapter is a thorough discussion of the various forms of marriage in vogue among the Semites. The sections on marriage by capture, by purchase, and cousin marriage are particularly worth reading.

The third chapter, though an admirable exposition of the family, contains some surprising statements. It is said that the Hebrew father could at one time sacrifice his child; this is supported by a reference to Gen. 22, etc. (p. 85). This documentation is certainly very weak. That Isaac gave up his wife is untrue (p. 79). Among the authorities commending the good wife and mother, Ben Sira should have been cited. It is insinuated that the Hebrew woman is inferior to the man from a religious and theological point of view (p. 93). In the section on the *ger* the kindness which was supposed to be shown to this class of the population is not sufficiently emphasized. It is difficult to see how the incident of Jael has any relation to the story of Cain (p. 105).

The fourth chapter, which treats of the individual and the group, will prove interesting to the exegete. The fifth chapter, on the dead, naturally contains not a few debatable speculations. It is said without proof that in early times Sheol was independent of Yahweh and outside the sphere of his rule (p. 145). To interpret *elohim* as meaning ghost in Deut. 21:22 is certainly arbitrary (p. 149). The facts adduced by the author do not prove his contention "that incense offering had certain esoteric functions probably connected with sacrifice to the dead" (p. 158). Jacob's drink-offering over the *mazzebah* at Bethel can hardly be construed as a sacrifice to the *manes* (p. 158). To see ancestor-worship in the regulation of Ex. 21:2-6 seems forced (p. 165). That Isaac in Gen. 31:53 is identified as a deity seems fantastic (p. 168). There is no evidence that Abraham and other patriarchs were tutelary genii before being presented as founders of certain places (p. 168). The explanation given for the development of the ark is based on phantasy (p. 177). Finally, it is curious that the doctrine of the resurrection is practically passed over in silence.

The sixth chapter deals with the deity as a relative, the totem, and the divine king. The fact that the Hebrew king was believed to control the sun and the rain is certainly not substantiated by 2 Kgs. 6:26 ff.; Isa. 8:21; Ps. 72:6,16. Similarly, Ps. 2:7 does not demonstrate that the ordinary king was considered as acutally begotten by Yahweh. Nor does Ps. 89:27 show that kings generally were looked upon as begotten by God (p. 213).

The subject of the seventh chapter is blood and sacrifice. The material proposed is excellent, but the author's hypotheses are at times fanciful. The unprejudiced reader will fail to see any evidence for the assertion that the ancestors helped to effect the Exodus (p. 234). Nor is it at all clear that Ezechiel believed that Ex. 22:28 contained a stringent command to sacrifice all the first-born (p. 237). The dominant motives for sacrifice assigned by the author are far from reasonably sure (p. 246).

The eighth chapter is an able discussion of blood revenge. Few will accept without qualification the words of Westermarck cited at the conclusion of the chapter (p. 285).

The ninth and last chapter treats of the levirate and circumcision. The author thinks that the levirate was introduced in order that the male son of this marriage could perform the ancestor ritual. He, also, believes that Lev. 18:16 and 20:21 abolish levirate marriages. With regard to circumcision, he comes to the conclusion that this rite was originally a sacrifice of a part for the whole to the numen of the family. This review of the book will show that the author is obsessed by the theory of ancestor-worship, which colors many of his views.

MICHAEL J. GRUENTHANER, S. J.

LOUIS M. EPSTEIN, L.H.D., D.D., *Marriage Laws in the Bible and the Talmud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942) Harvard Semitic Series, 12. Pp. x, 362. $3.50.

Dr. Epstein's scholarly monograph presents a comprehensive survey of Jewish law on the subject of marriage. An account of the historical development of the various marriage regulations and restrictions, it is thoroughly documented from biblical, talmudic, and rabbinic writings of the post-talmudic era. In addition, it examines historical data from the pre-biblical records of the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Hittites, traces the influence of the Egyptian, Roman, and Greek marriage customs, and describes the latest development of Jewish law as practiced by Jews today.

The author's brilliant legal mind excels in the trenchant analysis of his sources and in the use of an impressive and carefully selected literature. His juridical reasoning proves itself masterful among the intricacies of rabbinic interpretations by pointing out the fine nuances of conflicting opinions propounded in various Jewish law schools. We are indebted to the author for many a keen *aperçu* and for much light shed upon obscure matters by his exact knowledge and minute analysis.

On the other hand, one cannot help taking exception to the too facile manner of handling Christian sources relative to the question of polygamy in the New Testament and the early Christian Church. His careless exegesis of 1 Cor. 7:2; Mt. 19:9; and 1 Tim. 3:2,12 is indeed amazing. Note, for example, the explanation of Mt. 19:9 and 1 Tim. 3:2,12 on pp. 14-15. The author endeavors to prove that there is no legal prohibition of polygamy in the New Testament:

> ..."Whosoever shall put away his wife... and shall marry another committeth adultery." Now, if the term "adultery" is to be taken literally and in a legal sense, then the conclusion is definite that legal prohibition is here implied, for where polygamy is permitted there can be no adultery on the part of the man save where the woman is married to another. But one has reason to believe that the term "adultery" is employed only for rhetorical effect and means no more than "sexual sin," or that it is used loosely for stylistic effect, to match the other half of the verse: "and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery," where "adultery" is the proper technical term.

The author concludes his argument as follows:

> Whether we know how to explain the term adultery in the verse or not, it certainly cannot mean adultery in the technical legal sense, and therefore does not prove a legal prohibition against polygamy.
>
> On the other hand, there are some New Testament passages which seem to indicate permission of polygamy. We have in mind the teaching that the bishop or deacon may not have more than one wife. The natural inference would be that no such prohibition applies to the common layman.

On the basis of unscientific interpretations of this sort anything can be proved from the Bible.

Such statements as "the Christian sect that developed in Judea" taught "that marriage in itself was a compromise with the flesh and sinful" (p. 14), or "history records polygamous unions on the part of Christian dignitaries in earlier as well as in later times, and often with the consent of Church and clergy" (pp. 15-16), and the like, obviously need no refutation.

Moreover, in establishing the various stages by which the marriage legislation of the Torah evolved, the author adheres to the uncertain critical hypothesis which, against age-old Jewish and Christian tradition, denies the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch as a unified code of legislation by asserting a gradual growth from different sources and strata ranging over centuries (pp. 81, 220 *et passim*). This mars the value of some of his explanatory solutions and makes them hypothetical and dubious, not acceptable to a great many unbiased biblical scholars. The seeming inconsistencies in, and contradictions between, the laws of the Torah are aptly explained by historical development (modification, expansion, etc.) to meet the needs of new conditions. From these general observations we may turn to an examination of the body of the work.

In the first chapter devoted to polygamy, the author examines two existing interpretations of biblical evidences as regards the origin of polygamy in Hebrew society. According to one interpretation the Hebrew family was essentially monogamous, and it was only due to foreign influence that polygamy was tolerated as a deviation from the standard. According to the other, polygamy was the norm and standard of Hebrew family life but certain internal cultural developments operated toward the ideal of monogamy. Dr. Epstein finds the view of those who maintain that polygamy is rooted in native Hebrew life more plausible and more acceptable, but leaves the question of origin undecided, accepts polygamy as an established institution of Hebrew society from time immemorial, and examines those forces and historic incidents which sufficiently account for its existence from the beginning of available records.

We believe in the divine institution of monogamous and indissoluble marriage. This was the norm and standard of family life of mankind. Polygyny practiced in the patriarchal and post-patriarchal times was a deviation from the standard and became an acknowledged form of marriage by divine permission only. Though the Mosaic legislation tolerated and recognized plurality of wives, only the rich and powerful practiced polygamy, the bulk of the people lived in monogamy, unmistakably set forth as an ideal in the lives of prominent personalities, also assumed in the praises of Proverbs and elsewhere, and strikingly exemplified in the prophetic books in the relation of Yahweh to Israel alone among the nations, as that of husband to wife. Christ revoked the dispensation granted in the Mosaic law. He promulgated the original divine law of monogamic and indissoluble marriage; in addition, He raised marriage to the dignity of a sacrament (Gen. 2:24; Mt. 19:3 ff.; Lk. 16:15 ff.; Mk. 10:11 ff.; 1 Cor. 7:2 ff.).

Chapter II deals with the institution of legitimate concubinage. A concubine (Heb. פלגש; Babyl. *šugetu;* LXX παλλακίς; Latin *pellex*; Vulg. *concubina*) was less than the principal wife (Heb. אשה; Babyl. *aššatu*) but more than an ordinary mistress, legally married to the man by mutual consent without pomp and ceremony. The principal distinction between a chief wife and a concubine consisted in the latter's social and domestic inferiority. The *pilegesh* enjoyed the same rights in the house as the lawful wife, could not be deprived of her rights (Ex. 21:10), neither could she be sold (Deut. 21:14); the children born of her were in no case considered as illegitimate. Concubines were either handmaids of the chief wives or captives taken in war or purchased of their fathers. The author examines the concubine's legal and social position in the Babylonian, Assyrian, Hebrew, Roman, and Greek family structure. At the close of the biblical period concubinage was at an end in Judea. In the Middle Ages we meet with a new kind of concubine, "an occidental concubine in oriental garb," namely, the married concubine, a concubine in position but a wife in law. The unmarried concubine was the mistress of a married man or *chère amie* of an unmarried man. The betrothed and unbetrothed concubine existed side by side in the medieval Jewish family. The rabbinic controversy as to whether concubinage is permitted in Jewish law centered around the unbetrothed concubine.

The author's discussion of levirate marriage in Chapter III is unquestionably one of admirable perfection. His distinction between marriage by succession, by redemption or by levirate clarifies the perplexing Booz-Ruth marriage question (Ruth 4:5 ff.). The leviratical law of Deut. 25:5-10 does not apply here as some scholars (H. Ewald, J. L. Saalschutz, F. Benary) would believe, extending its provisions from surviving brother-in-law to kinsmen in order of relationship, though Scripture retains no other evidence of it but this history of Ruth. If the levirate law had been fulfilled, Obed should have been counted the son of Mahlon the son of Elimelech, whereas he is really called the son of Booz (Ruth 4.17,21). The kinsman's (*go'el's*) removal of his own shoe, an ancient method of attestation, has nothing to do with the procedure of Ḥaliẓah (Deut 25:9). This *ge'ullah* marriage is based on Lev. 25:25. In the controversy whether or not the law of Leviticus (18:16; 20:9) is intended as an abrogation of the old levirate law, we accept the most probable view, namely, that Leviticus states the general rule to which the levirate is an exemption.

In the following two chapters on Intermarriage and Incest the author examines with great precision the deuteronomic, rabbinic, and modern restrictions against mixed marriages, the working of ancient endogamy, the biblical law and rabbinic teaching on kinship and marriage, the various prohibiting degrees of consanguinity and affinity compared with the prescriptions of the Code of Hammurabi, and the attitude of sectarians and modern Judaism toward marriages with near relatives. An ingeniously constructed and illuminating diagram of prohibited marriages based on kinship accompanies the chapter on Incest.

An analysis of Ziḳah- and Ḥaliẓah-incest, of non-incestuous marriage prohibitions, of rabbinical marriage restrictions and priestly marriage prohibitions concludes this book of distinct interest.

The author employs the original terminology of the rabbis of the Talmud whenever adequate English substitutes could not be found for technical legal terms (ḥaliẓah, ḥalalah, mamzer, ziḳah, etc.). However, every such term is clearly defined and sufficiently explained when it first appears and in its proper context. Besides, a fine register of these foreign terms is added at the end of the book. There is also an excellent bibliography as well as a full index of subjects and names. In the bibliography A. Eberharter's *Das Ehe- und Familienrecht d. Hebräer* is listed as published at München. It should be Münster.

It is a pleasure to recommend this most valuable book to scholar and lay reader alike. The task the author set himself was that of threading his way through an immense mass of complicated evidence and conflicting interpretation. He has earned our gratitude not only by giving us the fruits of his arduous labor but by presenting them with a clarity that makes it relatively easy for us to follow him through the labyrinth.

The editorial committee of the Harvard Semitic Series is to be congratulated on this splendid number.

JOHN EV. UJLAKI, O.S.B.

LLOYD C. DOUGLAS, *The Robe* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942).

The Robe is a novel. The author, by his own admission, had no intention of imposing this fictitious story on the world as an historical account of what happened to the seamless robe worn by our Lord during his lifetime on earth.

Mr. Douglas says that he was moved to write a novel about this robe through a letter written him by a young lady inquiring why a novel had never been written on this subject. He decided to write the novel. Note, therefore, that his principal intention, according to his own statement, was to construct an imaginative narrative about the seamless robe.

He does this well, interestingly—entrancingly so we think—even reverently, though on analysis his reverence amounts to nothing more than a modern good-humored tolerance of a neurotic superstition which is attached by the characters in his novel to the seamless robe.

Were this the only fault to be found with the novel we could recommend it—hesitatingly and with fear that it might possibly harm some readers—as an interesting novel and let it go at that. But there is a much more glaring fault to be found. The novel is lopsided. It is not a story of the robe at all. It is the story of the conversion and martyrdom of a young Roman, put up in such a way as to be laughable. It is not a conversion at all nor is it a martyrdom. As far as the robe is concerned, it is merely an incident in the story of this young man. Perhaps one tenth or less of the book is concerned with the robe.

Now, in a historical novel we look for general conformity with history and chronology in the characters that are historical. If the plot of the novel requires an upset of chronology, this is understandable and allowable. If imaginary events are introduced and even offered as motives unknown to history, all this is allowable.

But it is never allowed deliberately to teach by means of a historical novel that the history which forms the background of the novel is all false.

Precisely this is what Mr. Douglas does. If he does it deliberately, then he should have told us that the purpose of his book was to defend the thesis of modern Protestantism, that Jesus was a man, a great man in a way, but just a little fanatic, perhaps a trifle neurotic. He believed that he was coming back to establish some kind of a wishy-washy kingdom of good-will soon after his death. He never had any idea of teaching formally any set beliefs which his followers must accept. The Gospels, therefore, are a hodge-podge of rumors, fantastic tales, fables and what have you, written by men who were dreamy, sleepy, impractical, of poor memory, always expecting to find Jesus hiding behind some tree, but never finding him.

These are precisely the ideas that form the background and thesis of the novel. If these ideas of Mr. Douglas are really his sincere thoughts, then we pity his ignorance and wonder how he can still read the Scriptures. If he is deliberate in his unnecessary falsification of history, then we feel even greater pity for his state of mind and great pity for the many readers who may be deluded into believing his report of the life of our Lord so contrary to the precise and historical account in the Gospels.

In any case, we want to warn all Catholic readers that the descriptions of the persons in the book, the account of the miracles and the history of the first days of Christianity are a jumble of unhistorical fiction.

Just to mention a few. St. Peter did not leave Palestine a year after our Lord died, nor did Pilate. Bartholomew, the Apostle, was not a dreamy, wheezy, old man of 85 or 90 when he was called to follow Christ. And before and after his call he was an energetic man, not a sleepy, tired dreamer who did nothing but sit under a fig tree day after day. St. Stephen was not Greek by birth nor did he invent the name "Christian." He was not the head of the early Church in any sense nor was he intended to be the successor of St. Peter.

The early Christians were not afraid to talk about Christ. In the years following our Lord's crucifixion they did not form a closed secret corporation and jealously guard what they knew and believed. At no time would they have hushed up any one who wished to relate the miracles of Christ.

Perhaps the worst feature of the book is that the author at no time admits the real and historical resurrection of Christ. In other words he intimates that the Gospel accounts of this event are of no worth whatever. If this is not a subtle teaching by means of fiction, then no novel or movie teaches false things.

E. A. MANGAN, C.SS.R.

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